National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, COR. EDITORS.

VOL. XII. NO. 13. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 21, 1851. WHOLE NO. 585.

Published weekly, on Thursday, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at their office, No. 142 NASSAU STREET, NEW-YORK. Terms, Two DOLLARS per annum. Printed for the American Anti-Slavery Society, by Norris & brother, printers.

Selections.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

Delivered at the Celebration of West India Emancipation, at Worcester, August 1, 1851.

Phonographically reported by J. M. W. Yerrinton, for *The Liberator.*

MR. PHILLIPS said: This is the First of August; a day in which, as Lamartine said, 'Wilberforce went up to the throne of God with eight hundred thousand broken fetters in his hand.' It is one of the very noblest days, it seems to me, in the history of nations—one that, in all its significance, can hardly be paralleled. I never think of it without feeling that all the circumstances of West India emancipation have a tendency to depreciate the character of our country. We are celebrating, just now, in Paris and London, the Fourth of July, as the great American festival. It is astonishing that an American should have the face to celebrate the Fourth of July in the presence of Europe, we have so forgotten the lessons of that day, forgotten the false pretences on which we gained the sympathy of the world. I recollect, in the accounts of the 1st of August, 1834—of which our friend Mr. Bowditch has been telling us—that, in all the West India islands, the only persons who doubted the safety of the experiment were Americans. The children of those men who had proclaimed that all men were created equal—that it was safe to leave people to govern themselves—that there was no need of troops to aid in keeping down any class of mankind—that man may be trusted with himself—it was this very nation that doubted the great experiment of liberty! We are told that in one of the harbours of Antigua, I think, on the evening preceding the first of August, there was an American brig, of which the captain and the sailors were so afraid of their lives, that at midnight, on the 31st of July, they put to sea, and stood off cannon shot from the shore, to meet the first of August, and witness, in safety, the scenes of carnage and confusion which they were certain would ensue. I should like to have seen that brig as it sneaked back in the morning. How it must have looked, with the star-spangled banner at the mast-head, and the story of peaceful emancipation in every man's mouth! And this was the emblem of American sympathy and confidence in the ability of men to govern themselves! This was the quota that a Yankee brig offered to the great World's Exhibition of 1834, as evidence of our capacity to understand social questions!

There is one point of view in which we may profitably look at this day, at such a crisis of our cause as the present. Great Britain is a monarchy; it has an established church; it has an hereditary peerage; it has, they say, an ignorant lower class; it has all the ignorance and conservatism of a false government, and a degraded people; still, the institutions of Great Britain have produced a first of August. Great Britain, burdened with all the mistakes of her Government and the ignorance of her people, was able, *as a Government*, to emancipate 800,000 slaves. It is a testimony to the efficiency of a monarchy to perform the first duty of a State—the education of the citizen. Now, my friends, we have got to show, on this side the water, that republicanism is as efficient. Mr. Webster is fond of quoting the lines of Sir William Jones:

'What constitutes a State?
  Not high-raised battlements or laboured mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
  Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd;
Not bays and broad armed ports,
  Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies rids;
Nor starr'd and spangled courts,
  Where low-bowed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No—MEN, high-minded MEN,
  With powers as far above dull brutes embued
In forest, brake, or den,
  As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude:
Men who their duties know,
  But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain;
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
  And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain!
These constitute a State;
  And SOVEREIGN LAW, that State's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate,
  Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.'

It is the education of SUCH MEN that is the important result of such institutions.

The English Government educated men virtuous or wise enough to emancipate slaves. Can we do as much? This is the question of the nineteenth century to our nation. We are held up as the model of free institutions to Europe. What is the worth of institutions? It is in what they can do. We have done nothing as yet. The Government of the United States, after all the praise it has received, has done nothing as yet. Shakspeare says, 'When the sea is calm, all ships alike show masterpiece in floating.' It is no praise to a government that it keeps the people quiet in time of peace, and when every thing is prosperous. It is the ship that outrides the storm, the pilot that carries us safe through strange and perilous seas, that deserves our gratitude. Now, we have seen nothing yet in this country that deserves the name of a critical period. We have seen nothing to stir the secret and most profound depths of society. We have been called to no great national act of sacrifice or effort. We have been easily and uniformly successful. We have gathered wealth from every sea and from every wind. We have reeled on from one degree of prosperity to another, until the nation is drunk with success. We have spread out on all sides, until no neighbour dares to stand up against us. And in this easy sea, our Ship of State has sailed well. A Chinese junk would have been puzzled to do otherwise. The poorest cable could have held us together when every thing tended to union; and when every man's voice was one of self-satisfaction and rejoicing. It is when angry men begin to recriminate, when great interests begin to clash, when the different classes of society begin to crush and jostle against each other, like mighty vessels in a storm—then it is that the trial hour is at hand. If the girdle that binds us together then be strong, we are safe; if the regard for law, 'the weight of calm,' is sufficient to keep down the tempest and enable us to outride it in peace, then we have a government worth praising. We can add to this another test, if, when a great national effort is required, there are men and women able to make it; if the pulpit and the school, the forum and the market-place, have produced *men*, then we are doubly secure; men such as the old Greek meant when he went over Athens with his lantern, and his neighbours asked him what he was in search of. 'A MAN,' said he, 'and I can't find him.' If they have produced men, then the institutions are worth having. But if, when the crisis comes, every one plays the traitor, and the only cry heard is the craven and selfish one, 'The Union is going to pieces;' if, when a Luther is required, it is found that the institutions of the country have been inefficient to form him; if, when the voice of some one speaking, regardless of self-interest, a rebuke for a whole people is wanted, the schools and the churches have been unable to produce him, then the government is a failure. It was well said by Dr. Crosly, when analyzing the causes of the French Revolution, that the church must have been false, and society was rotten, for when the tempest began to burst over France, there were none capable of conducting the public affairs of the nation, and they were confided to men dissolute in private life, and incompetent in public, till the throne and the altar went down in blood.

Now, how do we stand? When our fathers needed men in 1776, the churches (the Edwards and Hopkins) and schools of Boston, the former where Otis had spoken and Adams had led, gave them THE MEN; ready for every sacrifice, single-eyed; ready to sever a government; ready, for the right, again

———'to launch their Mayflower,
And steer boldly through the desperate winter sea.'

We have a great cause, but where are the men? Where are the politicians? Where is the pulpit, with its stern and rigid adherence to principle, at the present hour? When Wilberforce summoned the virtue of the nation to his side, England not only produced a Clarkson, a Heyrick, a George Thompson, a Buxton, but 800,000 men and women to stand up behind them. The Garrisons and Chapmans are not the produce of institutions; they are born of native and inherent vigour; often in spite of institutions. But when you look around for the multitude to answer to their call, if they come, the nation has done its work; and if they do not come, these institutions are a failure. Such is the test by which I would try this much-praised nation of ours. Has it given us statesmen? Has it given us divines? Has it given us heroic men? Neither! Instead of statesmen, we have politicians, who so little understand their office that they do not know who holds the helm of government. Mr. Webster calls our movement, with the intention of belittling it, a 'rub-a-dub agitation'; a 'going about from school-house to school-house, and stirring up men and women for no purpose.' 'It is the work of fanatics,' exclaims he. Yes, it is the work of fanatics; and so is Mr. Webster a fanatic at the present moment. The only difference between him and ourselves is this: He is a fanatic for tyranny, and we are fanatics for liberty; he is a fanatic on the wrong side, and we on the right (cheers). Anti-Slavery a 'rub-a-dub agitation'! Where has there been a 'rub-a-dub agitation' from town to town—yes, from railroad station to station—in the State of New York, more inefficient than his own? And he imagines, perhaps, because he perpetually babbles of railroads and harbours, fishing smacks and cotton mills, that he is *the statesman!* and it is his hand on the helm that steadies her, 'with an upright keel.' We are too petty for his notice, too abstract to exert any influence! No man that speaks fails to exert a political influence. *We* are politicians at this moment. We cannot be otherwise. Men describe us as the moral-suasion party—as men seeking only to exert a moral influence. Impossible! No man who raises his voice in the nation can fail to influence the civil character of the country. Why, there sits a man (turning to Mr. Garrison) who has done more than a horde of Websters to influence and ameliorate the civil institutions of the United States, and to determine the fate of the Union (tremendous cheering). Because it is of a very few men true that they know the difference between a Whig and a Democrat, between a tariff and internal improvements, between those questions that relate to property; what is manly and what is craven—these are the questions on which the great common mind broods everlastingly, through all ages; ideas on these points are the capital of the masses. Such ideas are at once the pleasure and the pride of the men and women of the country in which they live—on which they vote, on which they trade, in which they are poor or rich, happy or miserable, progressive or going backward. Men are selfish enough for themselves, and can do and defend the meanest act, without a blush, to advantage themselves. But the most selfish of us are keen-sighted enough to discern and despise the selfishness that only enriches somebody else. So the verdict of a whole people hardly ever fails, in time, to mark with scorn a base act or a cruel law. He, therefore, who, on questions like these, trusts himself to the common sympathies of mankind—whose downright earnestness and outspoken fidelity to what is high and manly, turn all fireside eyes to himself—he is the true Representative Statesman of an age; and his is the spirit that will pass into and take possession of the people, jostling aside all petty issues of politics or property.

I read in the *Commonwealth*, of this morning, an article from the Boston *Atlas*, which the editor of the *Commonwealth* says expresses the sentiments of the Free Soil party. In this extract, Colonel Schouler says—'We act only on the defensive. The Whig party has never sought to act on the aggressive. It only asks to be let alone. It only asks to have this element of Slavery taken out of politics'—or something to this effect. Now, this is not abolition (loud cheers). It neither asks to be let alone, nor does it consent to let anybody else alone (renewed cheers). We profess to be aggressive, we mean to be aggressive. So long as A beats down the Rights of B, we are at war with A. If there is a law in the country that undertakes to rob a man of his rights, we do not mean to let that law alone. We mean to disobey it while it lasts, and to wipe it out from the Statute Book just as soon as we can (loud cheers). The *political* element of Anti-Slavery, if it exists at all, must, I know, be defensive, and defensive only; it is not possible, at the present moment, to organize a political party on the aggressive movement—that is, a technically political party. We are not ready yet to be *such* politicians. The day will come when we can be politicians. The day will come when we shall just as naturally be politicians—go into the ballot-box and into the elections just as naturally and directly as we now go into the churches and the religious questions. The man who attempts to place himself in that position now, must of necessity compromise his principles. He cannot profess to believe that all men are created equal, and act openly and rigidly upon that principle, with any hope of political success. The harvest is not yet ready to be reaped—it is not yet white. We are not yet ready for the action that requires a distinct political Anti-Slavery organization. The political work that calls us is to claim, of all men and parties, in opposition to the policy of the *Commonwealth*, that this question of Slavery shall be made the great political question—that it shall eat every other political question up. Educate the people to demand this bread—and every political party will haste to bake its surplus dough to suit the market (cheers).

The policy of some men is to go about and convert Dr. Smylie [to whose address Mr. Pillsbury had alluded] to a better exegesis of Scriptures, in hopes that he will then come and help us in freeing the slaves. The policy of some reformers is to convert Daniel Webster, to an understanding of the true value of the Union. The policy of some is to bring Dr. Dewey to repentance, and then ask him to help us. (I wonder, by the way, if, when Dr. Dewey discovered that it was his duty, as a citizen, to save the Union by sending his mother into Slavery, he ever thought to ask himself whether it was not the duty of a son to save his mother by going back himself. This alternative does not seem to have entered his mind). It has been the policy of some men to convert these gentlemen, and then hope that they will be with us. This is not the policy of Anti-Slavery. Men's ideas of politics, and their ideas of Christianity, square very much with the facts around them. Theories are of a very thin and gassy quality. They have no very substantial character; and if you will once get an ugly, solid fact set in the centre of the community, it will always jostle these fine-spun theories right and left. No matter what method, provided it be an honest one, you use: go to work and free the slaves, and when you have got them free, the men who believe the Old Testament will find out that the negroes did not descend from Ham, and that they are not at all in similar circumstances; and the believers in the New will discover that Paul did not send back Onesimus into Slavery. They will find the law, if you will find the evidence. It is not for us to trouble ourselves at all about interpretations of the Constitution or the Scriptures. Get the slaves free, and the Scriptures and the Constitution will fall readily into place. Lawyers and ministers are not obstinate men at all. Sociable souls, they are known always to swim with the current. The most placable and compliant men of the community, they never stand out against their own interests. If you will only make it necessary to find more law, the law will be got for you. When Thomas Sims stood in the Court House of Boston, there was ample law to set him free; and the Bench might have found law enough, if they had wished to. If State street had spoken the word, Chief Justice Shaw would have found the logic. No man, after that case, will ever retain the fond idea that in Massachusetts, law is anything but the reflection, at one remove further than the press, of the opinion of the dominant party or class. Create such a clashing of the great interests of society as shall free the slaves, and courts will cull for you, from the ample and somewhat miscellaneous repository of the Commonwealth, any principle you want to sanction it; and the pulpit will make haste to claim for the Bible the credit of the Anti-Slavery agitation. I will guarantee that you shall find clergymen to rebuke Drs. Bethune, Dewey, Cox, Smylie, etc., just as soon as Anti-Slavery shall be as popular in America as it was in England in 1834. Let these men stand, therefore, as evidence of what the corrupt institutions of America produced in 1851, and let us give close heed to our work. These men are but manufacturing an article for the market; we have got to change the market, and then we shall have a different commodity.

Why, look a moment at the low appeals that our greatest statesman, as he is called, makes—the selfish passions and interests upon which he harps. Mr. Webster has been writing to Cape Cod, and has been making speeches in Virginia, for the salvation of the Union. To what does he appeal for the preservation of this invaluable Union, to which Charles Sumner alludes also in his letter to the Legislature? It is easy to wrap up any base thing in fine words; it is a great gain to dress up a sordid appeal in glowing language; it is a great thing to cover wrong with pleasant terms. I remember the case of an old clergyman up here in Pepperell, who, having obtained leave of absence from his parish, sent a young man to supply his pulpit. The youngster was something of a sporting turn, and fished, and shot, and took the amusements of the people, and not of the pulpit. The people thought that he was not much of a minister, and when the old clergyman returned, he asked his deacon how he liked his deputy. 'Not at all,' said he; 'if you could not send us a good man, you might at least have sent us a hypocrite' (laughter). Well, there was sound philosophy in the answer of the deacon. And these men who laud the Union, why, they dwell in such a glorious cloud-land of beautiful imaginary, that one would suppose heaven itself had come down in the folds of the Constitution. But what is it? Mr. Webster tells his friends of Dennis and Harwich, on Cape Cod, that they must love the Union. Why? Because, when they go on the ocean, it is the stars and the stripes that make the skiff safe. And he tells the people of Massachusetts that they must love the Union. Why? Because, when the tariff is in operation, the cottons of Lawrence and Lowell sell for seven cents instead of six. He tells Pennsylvania she, too, loves the Union. Why? Because coal is $5,00 a ton with, and $4.00 without the tariff. Let us then translate into the common tongue the invaluable blessings of the Union—Bread and Butter (cheers and laughter)! Six per cent. on your bank stock; profitable voyages to the East Indies and the Mediterranean; wharves crowded with ships; banks full of coin; shuttles always in motion; busy villages; well covered barns; carpets on the floor, sofas in the front room, and every man able to have his daguerreotype taken, and those of all his children; the comforts of life—that is the Union, translated into plain English; it is nothing more.

I have seen one other argument beside this. It is, that if there had not been Union, the North would have quarrelled with the South over Slavery. Slaves running into the North could not have been got back. Bread and butter again! A peace betwixt the sinner and the saint; peace betwixt light and darkness—this is the value of the Union. Now, the Bible tells us, 'First pure, then peaceable.' The peace that comes from honesty, that is the only peace we ought to value. Now, what are you required to do to secure these tariffs, to enrich your manufacturers, and make the counter more profitable to him who stands behind it? I allow, all these things are good—nobody is more ready to allow it than I am. No man ever heard a sensible Abolitionist deny the real value of the Union. It is a good thing;—so is a broadcloth coat. It is a good thing;—so is six thousand a year, a well-covered table, a good house. These are all good, but they may be bought too dear. The man who buys his house by fraud, buys it too dear. The seaman of Harwich, who buys that strip of bunting at his mast-head at the price of carrying Thomas Sims back to bondage on the deck of the Acorn, buys it too dear (cheers). Charles Sumner, who rejoices in the precious bond that keeps thirty-one sovereignties together, buys his chair in the Senate too dear, if he buys it by swearing that, with proper securities, he will return Thomas Sims back into bondage (loud cheers). The question is not, is the whistle a good one, but whether we buy it cheap or dear—as Dr. Franklin taught his countrymen seventy or eighty years ago. The prosperity that is bought at the cost of justice, liberty, manhood and honour comes too dear, though it paves every street with gold, and builds a marble palace in every village. Now, all the appeals of the Unionists are powerless to convince me that union is valuable enough to be worth the sacrifice of my manhood, the sacrifice of my sense of right, the sacrifice of my soul.

Emancipation in the West Indies, as our friend Bowditch told us this morning, saved the soul; and all that was *pretended* against it was, that it would injure the body. Well, suppose it had been so, would not the interests of the immortal soul have infinitely transcended the welfare of the body? All this argument about disunion is only that it will starve the body! Suppose we granted that; the question still remains, which is the rightlier starved, the body or the soul? Has the body a right to fatten at the soul's expense? Dr. Johnson used to say, that if you put sixpence on the thitherward side of hell, and a Scotchman on the hitherward, he will make a spring for it, at the risk of tumbling in. Now, Daniel Webster is going up and down the highways, writing letters and making speeches on the idea that the Yankee is so concerned for the safety of his fishing smack, and the profit on iron and coal, that if you put a tariff on the other side of the pit, he will make a spring for it, at the risk of falling in. (laughter and cheers). Shame on him that thinks! Shame on him who would pander to it, if it be so, in New England!

Let me read from the *Daily Advertiser*. Of course you will not doubt that; if you do, 'Sigma,' of the *Transcript*, will have you indicted for blasphemy. (laughter). Mr. Choate says, in the *Advertiser*, that the preservation of the Union is the 'virtue of virtues.' Then he goes on to say, that philanthropy is a very good thing, but, says he, 'let us make our philanthropy prudent and worldly.' Yes, our philanthropy is to be 'prudent and worldly'! There was a merchant once who took a boy as an apprentice. The father said he was a very honest boy, and after making the agreement went home. The master, indoctrinating the boy with the principles of trade, told him he must never sell by slack weight or short measure; that he must always be very honest, and not put any water into the rum nor sand into the sugar. For about six months, the boy obeyed him, to the letter; but at the end of that time, the master sent for the father to take Joseph home. The father wanted to know why. 'Is he not honest?' said he. 'O, yes.' 'Then, what is the matter?'—'He lacks discretion'! He did not know when to obey that rule and when not to obey it. His obedience was not prudent and worldly' enough—that was it? Now, Mr. Choate, differing from Mr. Webster, is afraid the Yankees will be too imprudent and unworldly! He says it is very easy to deduce from the Declaration of Independence the duty of immediate emancipation. So it seems. He says it is easy to sketch the dark details of the life of the slave; but he says, 'it requires so much sobriety! so much power of combining ideas! such discerning reason, to grasp all the details of the policy of the National Commonwealth, and to appreciate the good of which it is the source!' that men are easily led away by the Abolitionists! No doubt! A child can deduce immediate emancipation from the Declaration of Independence; a child knows that the details of a slave's life are dark; but it takes a philosopher to make black look white. And so, take care that your philanthropy is 'prudent and worldly'—that is the principle. They mistake the Yankee character; they mistake the moral sense of this community, who counsel thus. Did you ever remark, in reading accounts of those balloons that are sent up in Paris and London, full of gas, that they sail well over the capitals, but fall flat and empty in the country? It is an emblem of a great many other things beside balloons; and of nothing more than of these speeches of Webster and Choate. They go sailing up, distended and gassy, over the city, and even Cambridge sometimes gazes, astonished, at them from her Law Hall; but soon some higher law spire or Town Hall cupola touches them, and the breath is all out of them; they fall powerless to the ground (great cheering). The prevailing sentiment of Massachusetts is against this 'patriotic' attempt to dignify 'bread and butter' with the high-sounding name of 'Liberty and Union, now and for ever.'

My friends, there is another point I wish to touch upon. Our Free Soil friends are not frank enough. Mr. Mann, Mr. Giddings, and the other leaders of the Free Soil party—(honest men all; I do not find fault with their honesty)—are ready to go to the death against the Fugitive Slave Law. It never should be enforced, they say. It robs men of the jury trial, it robs them of *habeas corpus*, and forty other things. This is a very good position; but, Mr. Chairman, how much comfort would it be to Ellen Craft, if she had been sent back to Macon, to know that it had been done with a scrupulous observance of all the forms of *habeas corpus* and jury trial?—'My dear Ellen,' some excellent friend would have said, when she got back, 'you had the blessed virtues of *habeas corpus* and jury trial—what are you so sorry about? You were sent back according to law and the Constitution.' The German troops that fought against Napoleon did not complain of being beaten; that was not it. What they complained of was, that he did not beat them according to rule.—He actually did not go into winter quarters, nor march and countermarch as of old, but indulged in all sorts of heresies in military matters.

Now, you would think, from the statements of our Free Soil friends,—of Mr. Mann, in his recent speech,—that the *habeas corpus* was the great safeguard of a slave's freedom; that it covered him as with an angel's wing. All well—but suppose *habeas corpus* and jury trial granted, what then? Is any man to be even so surrendered, with our consent? You recollect the story of the man who told his friend, 'You lie——under a mistake;' and his friend replied, 'Put your words closer together.' 'No slave shall be sent back—except by *habeas corpus*.' Stop half short of that! 'No slave shall be sent back!' that's enough (peals of applause).

I look through all these arguments on the fugitive slave, and find they are all on the Fugitive Slave LAW. We want an argument on the Constitution of the United States. We want an issue made with the Slave Power, and with the abuses which it may have introduced into the statute book. Why, we are told, in the policy of that article from the *Atlas*, that all that it is necessary to do is to prevent the farther extension of Slavery. My eloquent friend, Mr. Burlingame, recently said, from this very platform, in a speech of great power and eloquence, that the policy of his party was to drive Slavery back to the slave States, where it might die of inanition. My steps are always guided by the lamp of experience. Our fathers drove this monster back in 1789; they said, to die of starvation. I should like to see how it died. This monster, that went out to die of starvation, why, he looks quite fat and hearty. He first gobbled up Missouri, then Louisana, then Texas; and now he opens his rapacious mouth for Cuba. Drive Slavery back to the Southern States, and hope for peace!—Twenty years ago, in O'Connell's time, there was a man who fancied one of his legs was Catholic and the other Protestant; and he put the Protestant leg into water to punish it for its heresy (cheers and laughter). You might as well expect health in a real body, one half of which was well and the other sick, as look for peace in a country one half of which was for Slavery and the other for freedom. We are one community, and while we are one, no honest man can be neutral on this question. It is impossible for an honest man in this country to keep peace with the slave system while we are one nation. The command of God, the nature of the human mind, forbid it. The free soil policy, the idea of light and darkness set together and not contending, is as ridiculous as what old Fuller tells his reader to try to do—to make a man laugh on one side of his face and cry on the other (cheers). While Slavery exists, no matter on what conditions, or how legalised, no honest man can or ought to be any thing but its public, pledged, utter, unconditional foe. Every American owes it, a sacred duty, to the purity of his religion and the honor of his country, to show that Slavery has not eaten out all the manhood of the land; but, spite of its upas poison,

'Man is the noble growth our realms supply,
  And souls are nurtured in our Northern sky;'

that some of us still learn and practise, as our first duty, till the land ceases to bear fettered feet, the great Roman lesson, *Parcere dejectis et debellare superbos*,—to make war on tyrants and help the weak.

Ten years ago, all the Southern talk about breaking from the Union was bravado; but it is possible that a change may have taken place. Once the idea was preposterous. It is still so for any single State, like South Carolina. South Carolina secede from the Union! Let her get up and stand on her crutches first! She never has done it yet. But there has been, for a long time, a plan on foot in the Southern States, and if the policy of the Free Soil party prevails, it will be a sucessful one. That plan is, to accumulate so great strength by the acqusition of Texas and Cuba, by taking advantage of every opportunity to increase her territory, that it shall be possible for the slave States to form an independent nation. To strengthen herself, to keep us friends so long as to gather such an amount of strength into her hands that she can venture to dissolve the Union,—that is her plan and when she accomplishes it, (if we permit her to go on and do so,) she builds up round the slave system a wall that will permit it to last a century longer. We should make our resistance now. The South has gained a great advantage by strengthening herself with Mexico, and she means to reach out her right hand for Cuba, to extend and fortify her other boundary.

It takes a long time to abolish a system like Slavery. It is no affair of a day. Great Britain attemped to abolish aristocracy in the days of Cromwell; and I think she gave it its death blow at the battle of Naseby, and on the scaffold of Charles the First; but it has been two hundred years dying. Whenever Slavery is abolished, it will take a long time to do it. It has got so inwoven in the very heart of the institutions of the country as to make it hard to kill. I do not know, I do not yet believe, that this government is strong enough to root out the slave system. No government ever yet stood against the money power, specially not in this century. Slavery, among us, not only panders to the social pride, the lust and the indolence, which have been its strength elsewhere, but holds political supremacy in one hand, and the omnipotence of almost incalculable wealth in the other. This country, powerful as republics always are, has yet to prove whether the masses have strength enough to do battle with an aristocracy such as the world never yet has seen,—politically powerful, and representing a species of property with which the present interests of all other kinds of property are bound up.

That the Fugitive Slave Law is the turning-point, on the due observance of which hangs the safety of the Union, I have no question. Daniel Webster is correct on that point, provided you will leave Southern men time enough to mature their plans sufficiently to dare break away from the North. We lost one great moment that God gave into our hands—that of Texan annexation; but all the leading men turned traitors, and so we lost it; and now comes the closer and more decisive issue betwixt the people of the country and the wealth of the country. It is between the masses and the money. It is between the property and the people, this question of Slavery. It is the capital of the North arrayed together against the principles that lie at the root of our institutions. So great already is our loss, that no man, who knows this country, can doubt, if the question was to be decided to-day, afresh, whether the Government should be Republican or Aristocratic, it would be hazardous to predict which way the the vote would be—whether in New England possibly, and in the South certainly, the organized wealth of the community is not strong enough to control and smother the popular love of free forms of government.

Such, then, is the question—whether we shall have such a day as this in the history of America, is synonymous with the question whether the people can make headway against the pulpit and the politicians arrayed together to crowd down the advancing principles of the 19th century, for the profit of their class. Power is always stealing from the many to the few. It is stealing into the marts of wealth. The wealth of Boston dictated the charge of Chief Justice Shaw in the Sims case—dictated the course of the city of Boston in that case. What we need is, that the country should throw off the thraldom of city rule and dictation. It remains to be be seen whether the present seeming interest in this enterprise is zealous and enduring enough to rouse the country from its apathy and indolence, and lead it to exert its acknowledged superiority. Then only will Anti-Slavery be called to triumph in this country.

Our cause is broader than at first. It has ceased to be a simple question. Mr. Webster, with an insolence which the history of this country cannot parallel, standing upon the steps of a hotel, tells his fellow-citizens that this agitation must stop! 'Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed, that he is grown so great (great cheering)?' This agitation must stop! Not while God creates tongues (tremendous cheering)! That is all the comfort Massachusetts men get when they venture to whisper about the laws of Massachusetts, and look with clouded brows at chains round the Court House, and dream that every man ought to find refuge and protection on the spot where Hancock and Adams have trod.

'Stop that noise!'—so endeth the first lesson. And then the preacher goes down to Virginia, and considers Southern agitation. Does he say *that* must stop? No. Southern Disunionists 'are learned and eloquent,'—indeed! 'animated and full of spirit,'—truly! 'high-minded and chivalrous,'—no 'rub-a-dub men' those! 'I am not disposed to reproach these gentlemen, or to speak of them with disrespect'!!! though he candidly confesses that these 'learned' and to be 'respected' men have not a shadow of ground for their complaints! But then, recollect, they were born South and own slaves!—conclusive evidence, both these facts, of their right to complain without cause, disturb the Union, and break it up, if they please, and still be the 'respected' of Mr. Webster; while as far North as unhappy Faneuil Hall, no man may peep or mutter—not even when his chosen Senators cheat him before his face. 'Stop that agitation! You are neither learned nor eloquent, high-minded nor chivalrous, and I'll speak as I please of you; for were you not born as far North as myself? And judging others by myself, it's your vocation to be spaniels and dough-faces.'

And we deserve it. Ay, the hond that is thrown at us is good enough, unless we vindicate our right to speak, by speaking so loudly that even the deafest ear can hear. Let us teach these politicians that we know well enough what they mean when they would hold up to us the value of the Union in protecting iron, and cotton, and the decks of fishing vessels: remind them that we share the love of property with the brute creation; with the bee that fashions its tiny warehouse, and the beaver that builds dams across the stream; but that we possess also a higher attribute, the gift of thought and speech, and mean to value them accordingly, as the distinguishing characteristic of our superiority, and allying us to God.

This is the true spirit of the Constitution. Mr. Webster said in Virginia that he trod in the steps and spoke in the spirit of Samuel Adams, and Chancellor Wythe, and Luther Martin, and Elbridge Gerry, and Hamilton and Jefferson, and that noble band of freemen of the Revolution. He never told a bigger lie, even when he said that Slavery could not exist in Mexico—and that is saying a great deal! Chancellor Wythe was poisoned for his Anti-Slavery sentiments, in the very centre of Virginia. Does Daniel run such risks? Sam Adams, on going home one day, found a coloured woman sitting at his fireside, and on asking his wife who she was, was told that she was a slave that a friend had presented her. 'No woman,' said the old patriot, 'no woman crosses my threshold who does not bring her liberty with her' (long continued cheers). 'Spoke in the spirit of Sam Adams'! He is not worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoe (applause)! Compare Samuel Adams, the incorruptible Cato of 1776, to the Whirligig McSycophant of 1851! the man who always forgot himself, and therefore became immortal—to one who never forgets himself, and hence the ages will forget him;—as we liken an English bulldog to a lady's fan.

These men did not worship the Constitution as an end; they looked upon it as a means. They no more mistook it for liberty than you mistake the railroad which brought us here to-day for the city we sought. They thought of it only as a mode for the attainment of an end, and trusted that their children, if it did not serve that end, would, in the spirit of its founders, beat it down and build better. Why, it is known that Washington was met walking on the banks of the Susquehannah, while the Convention on the Constitution was in session, and asked upon what he was reflecting. 'I am thinking,' said he, 'that perhaps it would be better to adjourn without offering such a Constitution to the States, than to offer such an one as we have drawn up.' (He referred to the slave compromises.) Luther Martin went home to Maryland, and protested against the slave clause. Franklin gave his vote with averted face. Elbridge Gerry has left on record, in writing, his protest against it. Sam Adams doubted the Constitution, which in Massachusetts owes its adoption to the chicanery of Hancock. The Constitution was saved in Massachusetts by the skin of its teeth. Judge Harrington, of Vermont, one of the earliest Judges under the Constitution, asked the first slaveholder that went to him for his property, for his bill of sale. The slave-hunter asked how it should be signed. 'Signed,' said he, 'if signed at all, by the Almighty. If you claim a man as your property, He alone is competent to give a bill of sale.' This is the spirit of the Revolution.

The Senate speech of March in the spirit of Washington! These demagogue appeals to the lowest interests and passions, against the noblest impulses, in the spirit of Washington! These sneers at Massachusetts prejudices in the spirit of Washington! The claim is a libel, which every American sharing in the common inheritance of Washington's fame is called on to denounce (cheers). There is in existence a letter from George Washington to Gov. Langdon, of New Hampshire, asking him to exert himself to recover for Washington, a slave woman who had fled from Mt. Vernon, who died recently in Stafford, N. H. 'But,' the letter says, 'let no attempt be made if it would excite public indignation.' Where, then, was the doctrine of 'disagreeable duties'? Where, then, the advice to 'conquer prejudices'? Washington did not attempt to lay even his finger on what he thought his property, if it would grate harshly on the feelings of New England; and this recreant son of New Hampshire, volunteering to hunt slaves *for others*, and ordering us, with cool effrontery, to smother these very feelings which Washington respected, proclaims, 'I speak in the spirit of Washington'! He robs each one of us of the rightful pride we own in this honourable deference of Washington to principles which he knew to be just and sound, but had not strength to adopt.

No! it is an insult to the old fathers to say that they ever contemplated such a descent as from themselves to Webster (loud cheers), that they framed institutions designed to form such men. No man who does not read our history upside down can believe it. They erred, erred broadly, erred lamentably, erred egregiously, but it was, in many of them, history will allow us to believe, an error; they did not mean to perpetuate Slavery. There is another thing they did not mean to produce—dough-faces over the Northern States. Never did they mean to create such a state of public sentiment as we see about us at the present moment. But whatever they meant, this remains true—the true traitor to the Constitution is he who upholds the Fugitive Slave Law. The worst foe to the Union is he who proves such a law necessary for its preservation. As well put gunpowder under the Capitol as wickedness into the statute book. The man who would do his whole duty either to his country, his religion, or his ancestry, is bound to devote himself, heart and soul, to get rid of this great blight that rests upon our national escutcheon. We owe it to the purity of our common religion, to prove that Christianity does not sanction bondage. We owe it to our fathers, and their great pride, our institutions, to prove them fathers and formers of men capable and ready for the great work God lays upon us—doing justice and making atonement to the coloured race in our midst (cheers).

THE following Report made to the recent Christian Anti-Slavery Convention at Chicago brings within a small compass the history of the American Board of Com. for Foreign Missions as regards its action upon the subject of Slavery:

REPORT

On the Existence and Influence of Slavery in the Mission Churches of the American Board of Com. for Foreign Missions.

At an early period of the Anti-Slavery discussion in this country, the attention of Christians, in several evangelical denominations, was called to the existence of slaveholding in the mission churches. There were but few of those who contributed funds to propagate the gospel among the heathen, who were aware that the sin of Slavery was tolerated in mission churches, sustained by their benevolent contributions. They generally supposed that where Slavery existed, in countries to which missionaries were sent, that it had been treated as intemperance, profanity, theft, Sabbath-breaking, and other acknowledged offences; and that those who voluntarily practised it, had been excluded from the churches. But, it was soon ascertained that this was not the case. Slaveholding existed in the mission churches of several denominations of Christians, and while the work of the missionary, to reform the lives of the heathen in other respects, was faithfully performed, no effort had been made, especially in the Indian nations of America, to correct and remove the evils of Slavery where it existed among them. Other evils, which they found existing, missionaries had endeavoured to remove, while Slavery was sanctified in the eyes of the heathen by receiving it into the mission churches.

When this was ascertained to be the state of things, a sentiment was awakened in many churches, which demanded that slaveholding should cease in the missions. Many christians declared themselves, at once, unwilling to contribute funds to propagate a slaveholding gospel among the heathen. The subject was now earnestly discussed in several of the missionary Boards. In the American Board, the largest and most influential missionary institution in the country, the discussion has been long continued. The position, principles, and future practice of the Board, in relation to Slavery, is now determined and published to the churches. We will trace the progress of this discussion to its final settlement, from which point, we think, every friend of Christ may discern the path of duty.

When the attention of the Board was called to the existence of Slavery in the Cherokee and Choctaw mission churches, and when many christians became urgent that the evil should be removed, promises, if not pledges, were given that Slavery should be separated from the missions, so soon as it could be done wisely, and in a manner consistent with the powers and regulations under which the Board acts. Had it not been for these assurances, and the hopes which they inspired, large numbers of Christians would have withdrawn their contributions from the Board. As it was a number of brethren connected with two or three evangelical denominations, unwilling to act all with those who propagated Slavery in connection with Christianity, withdrew and formed Free Missionary Associations. Others remained, encouraged by the hope that the evil would be promptly removed.

The pledges that Slavery should be removed from the mission churches will be detailed at some length, as it was these pledges that detained many christians, for years, in connection with those who propagate a slaveholding gospel.

In Western New York, the subject, at an early period, was extensively discussed. The Presbytery of Buffalo ordered a report on the "*Alleged Connection of the American Board with Slavery.*" Dr. Hopkins, since deceased, was Chairman of the Committee. The Report is able. It vindicates the Board from various charges which had been alleged. It admits, however, the existence of Slavery in the mission churches, and closes with the following paragraph:

"We are informed, by one of the Secretaries, that such directions have been sent to the missionaries, as will lead them to impart such instructions, and adopt such measures, as will result in removing, at as early a period as possible, all reproach from the mission churches on this account."

The Pamplet containing this report was circulated to some extent in New York, and in other States; and this assurance, published as coming directly from a Secretary of the Board, retained many in connection with that institution. Relying upon what they supposed sufficient authority, they looked to see the evil ended in the shortest possible period.

Not long after this publication, Rev. A. L. Wells, the agent of the Board in Michigan, published in the Herald of the Prairies (a religious paper issued at Chicago, and extensively circulated in the North-west,) a letter addressed to the editor. In this letter he admits the existence of Slavery in the mission churches of the Board—speaks of it as a "work of the Devil," and on the subject of removing it from the churches, he says:

"All candid abolitionists that I have conversed with, since the report of the Board in 1845, professed themselves satisfied with the ground which the Board has taken, *excepting that it did not appear to go far enough* in giving directions to the missionaries, among the Cherokees and Choctaws, that would prepare the way for the *speedy purification of the mission churches from the sin of Slavery.* This defect, as soon as it was suggested by the resolutions of the Synod of Cincinnati, was promptly supplied, and Dr. Anderson, in behalf of the Board, has given the counsel desired."

Here the points of the question are made distinct. The agent says that those desiring to separate Slavery from the Board thought the resolutions of 1845 did not go far enough. The Board condemned voluntary slaveholding as a sin of the most heinous character, but it did not act in relation to it as it did in regard to other sins. The great evil continued, while minor sins were expelled. The Synod of Cincinnati marked the defect, and the churches are assured, that Dr. Anderson had given the instructions necessary to remove the evil.

In the year following, 1847, a Convention of New School Presbyterian and Congregational Christians met at Chicago. During that Convention, the following resolutions were presented. These resolutions, before they were presented to the Convention, were read to Dr. Greene, one of the Secretaries of the Board, who was present. He approved the resolutions, and supported them in the Convention—affirming that they expressed the views and the design of the Executive Committee, and he believed also of the Board. The resolutions were seconded by Rev. Mr. Spees, who was then the Agent of the Board in the West. They were unanimously adopted by the Convention. It will be noticed that the first one contains the substance of the resolution offered by Dr. Bacon to the Board at New Haven.—The second expressed the sentiment then held by the great body of churches contributing to the Board in West.

Mr. Walker presented the following resolutions, which were seconded by the Rev. Mr. Spees and adopted without dissent:

"Resolved, That inasmuch as the system of domestic Slavery, under every modification, is at war with the principles of Christianity, with natural justice, with industry and thrift, with habits of subjection to law, and with whatever tends to the advancement of civilization and the ascendancy of the gospel; and inasmuch as it brings upon every community, which establishes or upholds it, the righteous displeasure of God, and the reprobation of the civilized and christian world,—the existence of Slavery in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations, and among other tribes where our missionaries labour, is deeply lamented by this Convention."

"Resolved, That we rejoice in the information conveyed to us, by published and oral communications from official members of the A. B. C. F. M., that they have made known to missionaries under their care, that the sentiments of the American Board and of the great body of American Christians, coincide in all material points with the sentiments expressed in the foregoing resolution concerning slaveholding; and that they have, in their communications with their missionaries, expressed their conviction that it is the duty of missionary churches, where Slavery, in any form exists, to terminate as soon as circumstances will allow, the existence of slaveholding within such churches, and so to instruct their congregations, that the people will understand that hereafter those holding and treating men as property, will not be received into the mission churches."

The proceedings of this Convention were reported for some of the Eastern papers. They gave more general currency to the Anti-Slavery sentiment which prevailed among contributors to the Board, than had been given before. The pro-slavery element was awakened to resistance, [*by pro-slavery we mean those who are favourable to the continuance of Slavery in mission churches.*] The New York Observer, an Old School Presbyterian paper, that has a large circulation in the Slave States, quoted the pro-

ceedings from the N. Y. Evangelist, and doubted whether they were correct, at the same time affirming that the Board had given no such instructions in relation to the separation of Slavery from the church as was there assumed. The Philadelphia Observer, (a New School paper, whose editor had removed from a Slave State, and transferred the subscribers of a paper published in Kentucky, to Philadelphia,) likewise affirmed that no such instructions as those referred to had ever been published by the Board.—The true statement of the case up to that time is: That counsel of this character had been given by the Secretaries at a missionary meeting in Hollison, Mass. Dr. Greene there read a letter to the missionaries, the import of which was, that Slavery ought to be removed from the mission churches, as soon as wise measures could accomplish the end.—This letter, Dr. Greene there said, *would not be published*, because it might irritate the Indian slaveholders, and hinder the design they aimed to accomplish. These things were done by the Secretaries and the Executive Committee. The Corporation or Board which has since shown itself to be hostile to the end sought, had not acted directly in the case.

The power of Slavery in the State and in the large Judicatories and Boards of the churches, was known to be great; but still it was deemed scarcely possible, after what had been said, that a Board most of its members living in the Free States, would continue to propogate the gospel of Christ, corrupted and dishonoured by Slavery; and to do this among heathen nations, whose standard of right would be taken from the mission churches.

At the next meeting of the Board in Buffalo, Pres. Blanchard, of Knox College, was present. He went with the design of introducing resolutions tending directly to settle the vexed question—Will the Board, or will it not cease to propagate a slaveholding religion through the mission churches?—Three resolutions were introduced, two of which were as follows:

"Resolved, That it is the understanding and judgment of the Board that slaveholders should not henceforth be received into the mission churches, without consenting to manumit their slaves.

"Resolved, That if any doubt whether the property-holding in human beings be in itself sinful, the practice should yet be abstained from, by members of our mission churches, as an obvious cause of offence to multitudes in the Christian Church."

These resolutions were referred to the Business Committee. Members said in the meetings and out of them, that they were not quite ready for the final action. The Committee reported, that during the ensuing year, the Indian Missions should be visited by one of the Secretaries, and the Prudential Committee should report touching the extent of the Board's control over their missionaries, and its responsibility for the character of their teaching and practice.

The question concerning the control of the Board over its missionaries had been abused by some, who endeavoured to shelter the Board from the odium of sustaining slaveholding missions. The Board can withhold supplies, or they can request missionaries to resign, or they can change their location. These being true, an apology for slaveholding, because the Board had no control, seemed derogatory to that christian truthfulness which should be exhibited in such cases.

The next year, 1848, the Board met in Boston. The Missions had been visited. The Secretary, Mr. Treat reported. Many have thought the report would bear two constructions; but we do not allege this. Some passages, at least, are plain. Among other things, Mr. Treat reports more than fifty slaveholders in the churches sustained by the Board in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations. He states that the missions are increasing in civilization; but that with the civilization produced by the missionaries, Slavery increases as a legitimate consequence. The principal influence in both nations, has become to be in the hands of slaveholders. The missionaries, he says, "feel themselves not a little straightened whenever they come in contact with the system; hence, he says, *the gospel is not brought to bear with its full power upon all those evils which are peculiar to such a state of society*." The missionaries are in both nations forbidden by law to teach either slaves or free negroes to read or write. Two sections of the Choctaw statute on this subject are as follows:

"*Be it enacted*, That from and after the passage of this act, if any citizen of the United States, acting as a missionary, or a preacher, or whatever his occupation may be, is found to take an active part in favouring the principles and notions of the most fatal and destructive doctrines of the Abolitionists, he shall be compelled to leave the nation, and forever stay out of it."

"*And be it further enacted*, That teaching slaves how to read, to write, or to sing in meeting houses, or schools, or in any open place, without the consent of the owner, or allowing them to sit at table with him, shall be sufficient ground to convict persons of favouring the principles and notions of abolitionism."

This law forbids the missionary to do the work for which he was sent out. It not only forbids his appropriate work for the coloured man, but it requires him to take an anti-christian position. He must make a distinction of persons. He must favour the rich and neglect the poor. He must withhold the key of knowledge from all coloured men, and must not even teach a negro to sing the praise of the Redeemer in a meeting house, school house, or even in the open forest. The missionaries in those nations do now act under this law; and thus the gospel of Jesus Christ is exhibited directly contrary to its essential nature. When the Indian gives evidence of submission to gospel requirements, as thus exhibited, he is an accepted member of the church, while yet he knows nothing truly of what the true gospel demands, in its most essential applications. Such a gospel the American Board propagates among the Indians, and submission to the claims of this gospel is the evidence of discipleship.

The Committee to which Mr. Treat's report was referred, laid over the whole matter as unfinished business. As no direct action could be had, an endeavour was made to bring the Board up to the point of affirming the principle that Slavery should be discontinued in the missions.

But efforts to gain even the recognition of the principle failed. Resolutions affirming that slaveholding should not be allowed in the missions, but that it should be considered prima facie evidence against the piety of applicants for admission to church privileges, were almost unanimously resisted by the Board. Afterwards, upon the suggestion of a venerable member from the West, the resolutions were admitted to record in the proceedings, provided the mover would withdraw them.

When this determined hostility of the Board was shown, both to the action and the sentiment which would place it in opposition to Slavery in the missions, the pro-slavery spirit in the missions, in the churches, and in the Board, was immediately strengthened. One of the smaller denominations, connected with the Board, voted that the subject of Slavery ought not to be again discussed in the meetings of the Board (Mr. Greene having resigned on account of ill-health at this crisis, and Mr. Pomeroy being elected). The Secretaries now issued a paper in which they say that their views and action on the subject had been misunderstood. They affirm their confidence in the wisdom and practice of the missionaries who take Slavery into the mission churches, and state in conclusion that they never designed to go further on this subject than to the line prescribed by the action of the Board in 1845.

Thus the labour and progress of three years in the work of freeing the missions from Slavery was reversed or abandoned. This action in 1845 was before the introduction of the resolutions at Buffalo—before the visitation of the missions in regard to this particular subject—before the report of Mr. Treat, in which he says, that for admitting a man, who voluntarily holds slaves for selfish purposes, to the churches, he knows of no warrant whatever. It was before the action of the Cincinnati Synod, asking the Board to act as well as resolve on this subject; and it was before decisive pledges were given that the evil should be removed. The Board now went back of all this Anti-Slavery action and effort to the meeting in 1845, and there they take their position. Thus all advance and all hope, connected with the proceedings subsequent to that time, were set aside.

The question was now settled, and the Choctaw missionaries, it is understood, had received a letter from an influential member of the Board, stating that they would be sustained in their position, and intimating in what style and spirit it would be well to write in relation to the question at issue. The position of the missionaries will be seen in the following extracts. The Cherokee letter, after speaking of *abuses* which may arise in connection with Slavery, says:

"Nor can we ever make it a *test of piety*, or a condition of admission to the privileges of the church, that a candidate should express a determination *not to live and die a slaveholder*."

Buying and selling men and women they do not consider, in itself, a disciplinable offence. In relation to separating parents and children, they say:

"In relation to the separation of parents and children, we must first remark, that it is one of those things which are not forbidden by *express injunction* of Scripture. It is impossible, in our circumstances, to make it a general rule that the separation of parents and children, *by sale or purchase*, shall be regarded as a disciplinable offence."

And we are assured that THEIR COURSE AND OPINIONS ARE NOT TO BE CHANGED.

"We earnestly," they say, "hope that what we have written, instead of leading to any protracted discussion, will be taken as a *final exposition* of our sentiments, a *defining of our position*. Not that we are immutable or dare *pledge* ourselves to see exactly as we now see, but at present, certainly, we can perceive no reason to change our course."

There were some missionaries, in those nations, who felt deeply grieved when the matter was settled that the Board would still continue to propagate a slaveholding gospel among the Indians. They felt that if Christians were willing to support the Board in strengthening an institution which is a moral curse to the people, they would no longer maintain their place in the missions. Rev. Mr. Potter left the mission and went to another Indian nation, where Slavery does not exist. Rev. Mr. Strong, in a letter addressed to a Christian minister in the West, on this subject, speaks as follows:

"All our churches [in the Choctaw Mission] are Old School Presbyterian, and pro-slavery at that. In view of this fact and many others which I cannot now specify, I am fully convinced this mission must be supported by *those who are willing and disposed to give their influence in support of, and in the propagation of, Slavery in the Christian Church*."

In a letter addressed to Mr. Treat, on the subject of withdrawing his services from the Board as a missionary, Mr. Strong writes:

"I could labour here with cheerfulness and contentedness, could I but see the gospel exerting an influence tending *indirectly* to the *gradual extinction of Slavery*; but when I see the system gaining strength and consolidating itself in proportion to the advancement of the people in civilized life, and no influence whatever exerted by the mission to retard the accelerated increase of it, I think the time has fully come for Congregational Christians [this missionary is a Congregationalist] to raise the inquiry, *What must be done?* And if it is decided, as doubtless it will be decided by the mission, that nothing ought to be done, *the Lord whom I serve calls me to leave the Mission*. The call appears to me as clearly from Heaven as my call to the work of the gospel ministry."

Another missionary, a female, left the missions and went to Africa in the service of the American Missionary Association. Such has been one result of the refusal of the Board to cease propagating Slavery with the gospel among the Indians. And those who sanction, and a Missionary Society which maintains such practice, are, as we believe, involved in the same guilt.

The missionaries that remain are now protected against the Anti-Slavery sentiment in the Free States; and they are, it seems, taking measures to protect themselves against any more Anti-Slavery missionaries. Mr. Wright, who has, perhaps, more temptation to propagate a slaveholding gospel than some others, writes to a gentleman in the Slave States for help. He says they are about to send two youth to College in a Slave State to be educated for future preachers to the Indians. Thus slaveholding, while the present missionaries live, and slaveholding in the future, has been in a measure provided for.

The following is an extract of Mr. Wright's letter, published in the Presbyterian *Herald*, calling for help from Kentucky:

"I would earnestly ask, *Are there no young men of ardent piety in your State, who, out of love to Christ and to souls, would cheerfully deny themselves and come and preach the Gospel of God to the perishing Choctaws?* And if no young men, are there none of mature years, who would come to labour for the Saviour and for souls? We almost despair of getting any more helpers from the East. Such is the state of feeling in that region of country in regard to the subject of Slavery, as forbids the hope of obtaining ministerial aid from thence. And we shall probably be compelled hereafter to make our appeal to the South-west, with the confident hope that the Lord will incline the hearts of some to come to our aid. As a Mission, I think we are becoming more and more convinced of the importance of raising up a native ministry. There are now several young men (Choctaws) in the course of a Collegiate education, who, we may hope, will make able ministers of the New Testament. Young Bond, whom you know at S. (and another) expects to go to Danville College this fall."

From the facts and statements foregoing we think that the following are legitimate conclusions and suggestions:

1. The hope that Slavery can be separated from the American Board must be abandoned. Perhaps it should never have been expected that a Board having part of its members in the slave States and receiving money by agency and donation from slaveholders, would separate Slavery from their missions to do so would be to condemn the practice of their own members. From the composition of the Board, the history of the Board and the decisions of the Board, the conclusion is obvious that those who support the Board, must do it with the understanding that the Board supports and sanctions slaveholding in the mission churches.

2. That candour and conscience requires every individual to ask funds for the American Board to state its true position, and to let Christians whose benefactions they solicit, understand that slaveholding funds are received, and slaveholding missions are sanctioned by that Board.

3. That those who solicit funds for missionary purposes, and who act for societies, that do not receive Slavery into the mission churches, should likewise state these facts to the churches, and thus Christians will be thrown upon their own personal responsibility to Christ, whether they will support a Board that receives Slavery or one that excludes Slavery from the missions.

And now in conclusion, can we hesitate for a moment concerning the point of duty? If there were but a single voluntary slaveholder in the churches sustained by any Board, kept there, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Christians in the Free States, the principle thus assumed by that Board would determine its character. But it is confessed that Slavery is advancing in the Indian nations, with the civilization the gospel as now administered produces. The Missionaries in at least one of the nations, are connected with a slaveholding Presbytery in Arkansas. The design and means to perpetuate the present practice is avowed and published. A portion of the territory upon which these nations are located, must sooner or later come into the Union as a new State, and, without doubt, as a Slave State. Free Missionary Societies are already organized, conducted by men skilled and faithful in the disbursement of funds. Let us, therefore, for the honour of the Gospel, for the glory of Christ, and the good of our fellow men, free ourselves, and urge others to free themselves, from all connection with slaveholding missions. Let us send our money through an organization that we can pray for the establishment of the principles supported by our means.

J. B. WALKER, Chairman.

TUPPER.

TUPPER, the Great Tupper, Tupper the Poet, Tupper the Philosopher, Tupper the Novelist, Tupper the Traveller, Tupper the Hero who so magnanimously volunteered to protect this country, Tupper, who with astonishing condescension, said "Fear not Americans, I will protect you"—Tupper has redeemed his pledge!—From his far-off home beyond the Atlantic, Tupper wafts us a spell to sooth the billows of Agitation, and paralyze the traitorous hands, that would tear down the sacred temple of the Union. Tupper has poured the oil of song upon the raging waves of Anti-Slavery, and henceforth they will roll as calmly as the waters of a mountain tarn. Through Tupper's organ, the Boston *Transcript*, the voice of the mighty bard has reached our ears.

It seems that some one—would that his name had been given, that we might hold the daring miscreant up to public scorn—had asked the majestic Tupper "If he were an Abolitionist?" To this audacious inquiry the immortal bard replies in verse,—for Tupper only speaks in verse,—and suppressing the indignation which such a question must naturally have created in his respectable breast, proceeds to address the hapless offender:

"Hear reason, O, Brother!"

He kindly says, for though Tupper is no Abolitionist he regards the lowest human being as "a man and a brother."

"Hear reason and right,"

says Tupper.

"'Tis better to hear than to strike,"

says Tupper.

"I'm sure that as freeman and children of light,
We think pretty nearly alike"—

says Tupper.

"My answer is yes! and my answer is NO!
Then listen, as all of you will,
While shortly, sincerely and simply I show,
My judgment, for good or for ill."

What a beautiful instance of the sublime confidence of Genius is that one brief line—.

"Then listen, *as all of you will*."

Who, indeed, is there that would not listen to Tupper? Tupper goes on—

"If an owner and slave cut each other adrift,
Abolition abolishes both!"

What a catastrophe! This awful prediction by such an oracle is enough to make even Mr. Garrison pause and shudder. Perhaps, however, Tupper is here metaphorical—perhaps he merely means to say that all would then be free—no more masters, no more slaves If so, we are reassured again — the danger is not so fearful after all.

"Be just and be merciful."

continues the moralizing Tupper—

"Under the laws
The master his bargain has bought,
And boldly you plead for Humanity's cause,
By setting that bargain at nought."

If it were not too great a liberty, we would venture to suggest to Tupper that "the bargain" is all on one side. These commercial speculations, however, are not to Tupper's taste. He soon quits them and rends his unknown questioner a lesson in statesmanship:

Aye, friend! if you wish to cure Africa's curse,
Begin it at home with her chiefs,
Whose tenderest mercies are fouler and worse
Than all Anti-Slavery griefs.

It will be observed here, by the judicious reader, that the grandeur of the thought and the weight of the ideas, somewhat clog the flow of the expression—so that the verse does not display to its full extent that charming melody which is commonly so conspicuous in the poetry of Tupper.

Tupper, like all the great and good men of the age, is a colonisationist. His bosom burns with ardour for the welfare of Africa, and he entertains the profoundest conviction that the Free Black, who in this country is little better than a demon, will, by merely crossing the Atlantic, be transformed into an angel of light, bearing civilization and all her blessings in his train. Fired with enthusiasm by this idea, he exclaims:

America's bondmen! set free by degrees,
And taught to be patriot at heart,
Take thus to your brothers, far over the seas,
The blessings of knowledge and art!
While, as for the bondswomen's children forlorn,
No longer for shame let it be
Henceforward that any poor babe can be born
A slave on the soil of the free!

The last half of this stanza looks rather suspicious. In fact, it smells of Abolitionism, and we are surprised that so respectable a journal as the *Transcript* should have allowed it to go forth. Probably they have too great a veneration for every thing that flows from the pen of Tupper to permit them to suppress or mutilate it. What the philosophic poet could have been thinking of, when he wrote it, is more than we can imagine. However, as Homer sometimes nods, it is probable that even Tupper may become drowsy. Besides, he is an Englishman, and can hardly be expected to fully comprehend our domestic institutions. After this little slip, Tupper briskly recovers himself and triumphantly chants in conclusion:

These, these be the means to so righteous an end
Which all will be glad to secure,
The slave and his owner alike to befriend,
And Africa's weal to assure:
Abolition? yes, yes! it is wise, it is right,
If prudence develope the plan;
Abolition? no, no! it is folly and blight,
If forced on both master and man!

These wonderful verses, the latest birth of Tupper's mighty genius, the *Transcript* informs us, were "sent by Mr. Tupper to a friend, whose guest he was, while in Boston." "Like every thing from Mr. T.," continues the *Transcript*, "it will be read by thousands of admirers, who will be glad to know his views on a great subject."

And so there really is a man in Boston with whom the great Tupper condescends to correspond! We are awe-struck by this intelligence, and wish we knew the individual's name. He is surely a fortunate mortal, especially if he be honoured by many communications like this poem. There are none of Tupper's admirers more enthusiastic than ourselves, and on quite a number of "great subjects" we should like to have his opinion. Perhaps his Boston correspondent, "whose guest he was," will be kind enough to ask him what he thinks of the Cuban Revolution, Mr. Webster's Letter to the Cape Codders, the Bloomer Costume, and the nomination of the Honourable Samuel H. Walley? On all these points we should be glad to hear from him, and will cheerfully publish his opinion—provided it comes in verse.

Great is Tupper, and great are his opinions!—*Bost. Commonwealth.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†‡† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 21, 1851.

THE NO VOTING THEORY.

IN our last Number, we explained the philosophy of the Method of the American Anti-Slavery Society, or the No Voting Theory, as it has been sometimes sneeringly denominated. We showed that it was a necessary consequence of our opinion that the support of the United States Constitution implied a consent, when duly called upon, to do certain pro-slavery acts. Not intending, under any circumstances, to do those things, we do not think fit to swear that we will. Thus we are prevented from entering the Eden of Office as long as its gate is "waved over by that flaming brand," and, as an ethical corollary, from empowering others as our attornies or representatives to do that which we cannot do by ourselves. This course we pursue entirely irrespective of its effect upon the Abolition of Slavery. We do not, in the first instance, abstain from holding or conferring office because we think that we shall thus soonest abolish Slavery; but because we think that this is the only way in which we can keep ourselves honest men. Even if our conduct in this respect should have the effect of postponing or preventing Emancipation, it should make no difference to us. Even if we were assured that by the assassination of Mr. Fillmore or the poisoning of Mr. Webster we should greatly hasten or completely compass our great end, we should decline the operation, as long as we hold opinions adverse to such modes of disposing of criminals. We look upon the rendition of an innocent fugitive slave, under any imaginable circumstances, as a much more enormous, as it is a more mean and cowardly, crime than the assassination or poisoning of any of the felon tools of tyranny, and, therefore, as we never mean to commit it ourselves, we neither intend to promise to do so, nor to appoint a deputy to do it for us.

But though our sober First Thought teaches us that this is the course pointed out by Consistency and Honour, in the relations in which we find ourselves, and with the views we are compelled to take of them, our sober Second Thought satisfies us that it is not only the only Right, but the only Expedient one for us to pursue. We have an idea that no great moral, or physical, revolution can be accomplished except by men who act up to their highest ideas of Right in the matter with which the revolution is concerned. In other words, that it is not Expedient for a man to do, for any object whatever, what he thinks to be wrong. But, then, as this may be one of those "prejudices" which we have derived from our Emigrating and Revolutionary ancestors, and of which it is a main part of the mission of the new Daniel (who seals his mission, not like his predecessor, by being cast into the den of lions himself, but by casting others into it) to disabuse the New England mind, we shall not insist upon it, but look at it merely in a business-like way. We think that our method is the one which common sense, rightly understood, and history, as far as it has any analogies to offer, indicate as the true way to go to work. We hold that we proceed by putting the horse before the cart; whereas our political Anti-Slavery friends are for getting to the end of their journey by putting the cart before the horse. It is worse than that, for it is putting the horse inside of the cart, to try to get office for oneself or one's friends, when the very getting of it, if exercised according to its terms, must prevent any progress in the desired direction.

The Abolition of Slavery presupposes a Revolution. It will be a Revolution. For it will radically overthrow and reconstruct the institutions of the nation. It may be a Revolution fought out on Marston Moors or Bunker Hills, or its victories may be won on the logomachic fields of parliamentary debate, and decided by aye and no, and not by bayonet and sabre. It may be a Revolution like that which struck off the head of Monarchy before White-Hall in 1649, or it may be one like that which virtually annihilated the House of Lords, as a substantive independent branch of the Government, in the adjoining Parliament House, in 1832. But, come in what shape it may, it will be Revolution, and it will be brought about like all other Revolutions that the world has ever known. And how is that? Solely by the change which had been gradually wrought in the feelings, the wishes, the ideas of the nation, which was at once the object and the agent of the Revolution. It is the wholesome discontents, the righteous dissatisfactions, arising in the minds of the people, in the presence of the abuses by which they find themselves surrounded, that drive men to embrace the alternative of Revolution. It is the men who first discern these abuses, who fan these discontents, who foment these dissatisfactions, that are the true movers of the Revolution, and not those who become prominent when it first begins to take unto itself form and proportion. It was not Cromwell that struck off the head of Charles. He was but the creature of the men who, for more than a century, had been trying, first, to Reform the Church, and, next, to Reform the Reformation, and who had encountered torture, confiscation, exile and death in their course. It was not Otis nor Adams nor Washington that made the Revolution of 1776. They but obeyed the impulse which had swept down to them, over Leyden and over Plymouth, from those old times of Puritan resistance to Power in defence of Rights. It was not Earl Grey that palsied the House of Lords by the touch of the Reform Bill. He only executed the purpose which had been strengthening in the English mind for a half century, and for encouraging which Hardy and Horne Tooke and Thelwall were tried for their lives, not forty years before. He received the Garter for accomplishing what they narrowly escaped the Halter for attempting.

Now it is precisely this necessary part in the true American Revolution which the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society are engaged in performing. They are compelling the attention of the people to the actual state of the facts and institutions in the midst of which they live. They are applying the truths, urging the arguments, appealing to the hearts and to the highest material interests of the nation, which go to create that determination in the general mind which will not stop short of the Revolution which invokes it. They are arousing the Conscience and awakening the Passions of great masses of men, which, when aroused and awakened, sweep onward with irresistible sway to their design. Slavery exists in this country, and governs it, because the People choose to have it so. Because they have no lively sense of the atrocity of the slave system nor of their own guilt in consenting to it. Because they doubt that, on the whole, they may not be better off with Slavery than they would be after the exertion necessary to destroy it, or to remove themselves from their support of it. Because, like all mankind before them, they will long choose to "bear the ills they have" rather than take the trouble and incur the risk of reforming them. This *vis inertiæ* has to be overcome in every case of Reformation or of Revolution. And this is what we are doing. This moral lethargy and insensibility is to be disturbed and alarmed. And, if we may believe our enemies, we have done this part of our work, or rather have begun to do it, tolerably well. Until this is done, no great political change can be effected. When the great body of a nation is thoroughly aroused and fully in earnest to abate an abuse or evil institution, be it even the institution of its own Government, it is sure to do their pleasure.

When the people of the Northern States are as determined that Slavery shall no longer exist by their consent or their coöperation, as the Puritans and their descendants in England and America were to obtain the purposes of their successive revolutions, and as the British nation was to secure Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, West India Emancipation and Free Trade in Food, they will find ways and means of carrying their determination into effect. They may be trusted to find the weapons of their warfare, if the spirit can but be breathed into them. And until they are so prepared, it is quite in vain to expect to hasten their motions by the manœuvres of small parties and the tactics of pinioned politicians. The Whig or the Democratic party, or both together, will do the will of the People, when that will is formed and resolute, as well as the Free Soil Party, itself. We rejoiced at the formation of that party, as we do at its occasional successes, both for the proofs they afford that we have done something and for the assistance they give us in our own work. We think the occasional election of a Representative or a Senator, of consequence, not for anything they can do for the overthrow of Slavery, in Congress, but because of the Agitation of the subject which the strifes attending their elections, or their faint and ineffectual struggles, on the floor, create in the country. We believe that if the energy wasted on those elections and in those futile attempts, was concentrated on the creation of the public sentiment which is supreme and despotic everywhere, the end would come far more quickly. But we are content to receive help, in whatever form it approach us, though we cannot accept it as the sufficient remedy. We shall pursue this topic hereafter.—E. Q.

THE SLAVE HUNT.

Now that the warm weather is drawing to a close our Southren Nimrods are beginning to beat up for game in their Northern preserves; or perhaps some of them who have honoured us by passing the summer months at the Springs or Niagara are not disposed to go home empty-handed, and are calculating to take back a "nigger" or two to pay the expenses of the season. Be this as it may, the Fall Trade in men has opened briskly, and we are again to be called upon to observe the harmonious results of the Compromises, and how completely the Anti-Slavery agitation is repressed.

The first case for the the season is in Pennsylvania. The *Harrisburg Journal* of the 14th says that a man was arrested near Columbia a few days before and carried to Harrisburg, and after a hearing before Commissioner McAllister, was remanded to his owner. The use of the county prison being denied to the agent of the law, under the Act of 1847, preventing the use of the jails of the Commonwealth for the retention of fugitives from labour, the prisoner was placed in the garret of a hotel for safe keeping, until the next morning. During the night, an attempt was made to fire the house, with the design, it is supposed, of rescuing the fugitive. This was unsuccessful, and the poor fellow was hurried off to the South.

At Buffalo an arrest, attended with far more serious and revolting circumstances, has been made. The *Buffalo Courier* of the 16th says:

The first arrest under the recent law of Congress took place in our city yesterday; and, although some slight evidences of disturbance were evinced at first, by the too sympathetic of our population, thank Heaven, the supremacy of the laws have been vindicated. We give below the evidence in the case, from which it will be seen that the identity of the man was perfectly established, and that the cause was conducted with the strictest regard for justice.

Before Hon. H. K. Smith. Case of the negro man Daniel, arrested on a warrant issuing on a record made in the county court of Jefferson county, Kentucky.

Daniel was arrested on the steamer Buckeye State, yesterday morning, on board which vessel he was engaged as a second cook. He is a fine athletic negro, of great value, doubtless, to his owner. In the attempt to escape, he had fallen on the cooking stove, in the kitchen, and when brought into the court it was with a great burn upon his cheek, and some severe contusions and flesh wounds about the head.

Defence claimed that the papers were insufficient, in that the record from the court in Kentucky was not properly sealed—the seal being impressed upon the record and not affixed.

Geo. H. Moore sworn—Resides in Louisville, Ky.; was born there, and has resided there for the last six years; am a son of Geo. J. Moore, of Louisville: there is only one Geo. J. Moore there to my knowledge; knew the negro Daniel, in Louisville, Ky.; knew him first when I was very small; have known him within the last two years; don't know his master's name, think it was Fraser; knew him at my father's about four months before he left, my father purchased him of Fraser in 1850; he ran away in August, 1850; my father had no other servant of the name of Daniel; I was present when he was bargained for; bargain was made at Louisville; I did not know at the time of his escape, but knew of it shortly after; I have no doubt of his being the person; I shall be seventeen the 10th of next January.

Cross-examined—I have never seen the record made up in the county court of Jefferson county, Ky.; I do not know that he is the person described in that record; my father owns no other slaves than this one; I was at Louisville at the time of the alleged escape; was at home at the time; heard the bargain between my father and Fraser at Louisville, about five or six months before Daniel left; my father bought him for $700; do know how to be paid, or if there was any agreement for time; have no knowledge of the payment of the money; think he, Daniel, ran on the river, am not sure; Daniel was not present at the bargain; don't know where he was: didn't hear any description given as part of the bargain; father was well acquainted with Daniel; didn't know whether Fraser owned any more slaves; had seen Fraser before; he resided in or near Louisville; Mr. Rust told me the man's name was Fraser who sold the slave; do not know that Fraser owned the slave; Daniel was cook part of the time, part a steward on a steamboat; while not on the boat he was at my father's house; father did not own the steamboat; have seen him at the house several times; he was cook on the "Anna Lennington," when he escaped; he was hired out; don't know for how long; his name is Daniel; do not know his surname; have heard him called Daniel; can not tell the exact number of times I have seen him at my father's; he is alleged to have escaped about the 25th August, 1850, from the boat; she was a regular boat to Cincinnati; he went there as steward of the boat.

Here the defence claimed that the act of taking the slave to a free State enfranchised him, but his Honour, the Commissioner, held that the slave was not taken into a free State by his master; but that even if he had, that act could not have the effect to enfranchise him, as any master has a right to take his slave through or into a free State.

The defence proposed to introduce testimony to destroy the identity, by proving that the prisoner had been longer in a free State than since the time of the alleged escape; but after waiting a considerable time, and the defence not producing any witnesses, the Commissioner decided that the proof was sufficient to warrant his commitment.

The Commissioner then made and signed the certificate required by the act of Congress, authorizing the agent of the claimant to take the slave back to his master.

This Report may be correct and it may not, but it is the only one we have seen of the evidence, and therefore we republish it. The Commissioner seems quite fit for his office, if we may believe that the last clause of his decision is correctly reported, as heretofore the various decisions of the highest courts—that a slave brought into a free State by his master is free—have been held as of some force; but it is expected of these Commissioners that, having forgotten their humanity, if they ever had any, they should forget and ignore all law and precedent if they ever heard of any. What, however, were the causes of the slight evidences of disturbance which the too sympathetic of the population evinced, and how poor Daniel came to be so foolish as to fall on a Cooking-Stove, the *Buffalo Republic* tells us. After stating the fact of the arrest, that paper says:

He is claimed to be a fugitive slave, the property of Mr. George J. Moore, an extensive dealer in human flesh, residing in Louisville, Ky. The poor fellow was arrested by the slave-catcher, and some of our officers. When first taken he went to ascend the steps to go on deck, when the slave-catcher caught up a billet of wood and struck him a violent blow on the back part of the head, driving in his skull. He fell senseless upon the hot stove, badly burning one side of his head and forehead.

The awful working of the brutal act may now be seen by our citizens. Any person who witnessed the sight presented in the Commissioner's office this morning must be satisfied of the "healing qualities" and "gentle mercy" of the Fugitive Slave Law. To behold the poor slave, a man of God's own image, with his bleeding skull, his dull, heavy, piteous eye, his hands clasped as if in inward prayer, and iron manacles on his hands, was a sight of horror. The excited crowd around the door, and the gaunt image of the slave-catcher, who paced the room and shifted a brace of heavy revolvers to the most convenient pocket, to have them handy to shoot down our citizens, spoke volumes of the efficacy of the Compromise measures as a "final settlement" a healing of the bleeding wounds of our country. We pity the poor slave, but let justice take its course. We do not envy the miserable slave-catcher, the dealer in human flesh and blood; and we hope he may be arrested and punished according to the law, for the wanton and brutal assault committed upon the negro.

The assault, perhaps, was brutal and wanton; at all events the slave-catcher was arrested for assault and battery. But no doubt the Court will take into consideration that the acts of a man in the heat of the chase and at the moment of securing his prey should not be too severely questioned. We must remember the glorious duty of fulfilling the Compromises, though the quivering brains and streaming blood of our fellow-men sometimes hiss on hot stoves. It will be satisfactory for good and patriotic citizens to reflect that Buffalo, as well as Boston, and New York, and Philadelphia, has saved the Union.

No one can deny that this is a good beginning for the season. Next week we may hear of some patriotic doings in New England. The *Commonwealth* of Saturday contains the following Card:

More Hunting of Fugitives!

SLAVE CATCHERS AGAIN ON THE TRACK!

We have received a warning that BYRNES, the Deputy Marshal, has been for the past two days in Salem, and some portions of New Hampshire IN SEARCH OF A FUGITIVE FROM THE SOUTH. He returned to the city yesterday afternoon at 2 o'clock, without having effected his object, but, acting apparently on new information, he again left the city at 3 P. M.

Friends of the fugitive, be on your guard! Are we again to have a repetition of those outrages on humanity that have already disgraced our Commonwealth? God forbid.

PERSECUTION IN NORTH CAROLINA.

THE last No. of *The Wesleyan*, of this City, contains a long and very graphic account, from a Correspondent at Randolph, N. C., of how the heathen in that region receive the Christian Missionaries sent among them by the Wesleyan Church. The perils and difficulties which this class of men usually encounter among the savages of the various countries into which they penetrate to carry the glad tidings of the Gospel, have not, we confess, often interested us, for reasons which it is not worth while here to give; but the self-denying men who have ventured to carry the message of Religion to the benighted people of North Carolina command our respect for their boldness, and our sympathy for the outrages which have been perpetrated upon them. We do not wish to be understood here as speaking ironically, or as ignoring a distinction which may be made between Missionaries in Burmah, and Messrs McBride, Crooks, and others of the Wesleyans in North Carolina, because the former may be claimed as preaching simply the fundamental truths of Christianity, while the latter render themselves obnoxious by propagating Anti-Slavery principles. We speak in good faith of both as Missionaries, bound upon the same errand, and actuated by the same motives; and we are not aware that any such distinction as that referred to can properly be made between them. *We* might take, and, we think, we could maintain, that the Anti-Slavery preacher is the preacher of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, but, in this case, we are not called upon to make any such plea. The Missionary in Burmah or in China is subjected to persecution and suffering because any application of the truths he upholds is subversive of the popular belief, and the social institutions by which he is surrounded. The position of the Missionary to North Carolina is precisely the same. McBride and his coadjutors are, it is true, opposed to Slavery, but we have yet to learn that they hold it to be their paramount duty to preach against that institution. They are obnoxious, therefore, simply because it is believed that the influence of their presence and their religion is injurious to the social relations which obtain among the people with whom they are sojourning. The Wesleyan Church does not recognise a slaveholder as a Christian, and a Wesleyan preacher, therefore, can by his very presence but rebuke slaveholding as a sin. Before other preachers, the slaveholder does not tremble, and is not afraid, because in other Churches he may kneel as an accepted Christian and break the bread of life. So if any Church shall send its Missionaries among any heathen people whose darling sin is idolatry, and have it proclaimed before their faces that their Churches have no warfare with idolatry, there will such Missionaries be permitted to propagate their Gospel unmolested; while the emissaries of that Church that shall proclaim idolatry a sin shall be persecuted as fomenters of discord and blasphemers against the true faith. If we are right, then, herein is the secret of the persecution of the Wesleyan Missionary in North Carolina—because the Christianity he preaches he himself believes to be opposed to the darling sin of that people. When the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Episcopal Methodist, the Unitarian, or any other sect of Christians, shall be understood as bearing witness to the truth that the man-stealer is not a Christian, then the ministers of such churches also will be cast into prison, and banished from the country as persons dangerous to the peace of Society and the welfare of the State.

We have not room for the whole narrative of the correspondent of the *True Wesleyan*, but so much of it as indicates the feeling of the people at large, and is not merely the expression of private opinion or individual feeling will be found below. On the morning of Sunday the 15th of June, it seems, Mr. Crooks was to preach at Lovejoy Chapel (ominous name) and a mob was collected predetermined to transport him beyond the limits of the State. At an early hour Mr. Crooks took his place in the pulpit, when the crowd approached him, headed by one S. Christian, a Justice of the Peace, with a negro-trader, and the following conversation commenced:

"Is your name Crooks?"

"That is my name."

"My name is Christian. The Methodist Episcopal Church North and South are divided. They have agreed on a line, and this very subject of Slavery has divided them. The North would not have a slaveholding bishop. Andrew being a slaveholder was deprived of his office, and on this account the Church split. The Slavery question is agitating this whole nation."

"Yes," said Crooks, "it is convulsing it from centre to circumference."

"And you have come amongst us preaching against Slavery—violating our laws—breeding disturbance. I have no doubt you preach the gospel but we are not heathens, we are a Christian people. You are making interruptions in families, in neighbourhoods and churches, (wonder if he is not a regular descendant of some chivalric knight,) and causing us to abuse our servants; for they have got to know that you are preaching that they ought to be free, and it makes them unruly; so that they have to be abused. And now what we want of you, is a solemn promise that you will leave the County forthwith, and never preach in it again."

"You, Mr. Christian, are mistaken as to Bishop Andrews being deposed. He was a bishop at the rise of the General Conference of 1844. In answer to three questions it was ordered that his name should remain with the other bishops—he should receive a bishop's pay; the work he did to be subject to his discretion in view of the action of that Conference. But that matters not, it being merely a fact of ecclesiastical history. As to my having violated your laws, your conduct to-day vindicates me from that charge."

"I think not."

"Evidently," continued Crooks, "for had I broken your laws, you would not be under the necessity of violating them and adopting sublime *modus operandi* of Mob Law to punish me."

Some of the company—"We did not come here to have a debate."

"Certain charges have been preferred, and it is the undisputed right of every man to be heard before being judged; and I am going to be heard. As to breaking the peace; you have acknowledged I preached the gospel. As to your not being heathens but a Christianized people, your conduct in trying to drive out of the County a man for preaching the gospel, is more like that of heathens than of Christians. Not a drop of blood warms my heart, or courses my veins in favour of Insurrection. Were you to take my advice there would be no danger of such an event."

"What would that be?"

"Do by your slaves as you would they should do to you."

"Explain."

"It needs no explanation. It is so plain a wayfaring man though a fool shall not err therein."

"Now see there."

"With regard to leaving the County, etc., it is my right, in common with American citizens, to come and go at pleasure. The Constitution of the United States says, the citizens of each State shall have all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States."

Mr. Cogins—a magistrate and slaveholder, was once class leader in the M. E. Church, is not now a church member. "Did you not agree to leave Guilford and never return."

"Mr. Cogins. I did not wish to be interrupted, but I answer. I did not."

"I am informed you did."

"I know what I did, and I know I did not. To give a promise never to preach in this County, is a demand you have no right to make, and one to which I, as a Christian minister, have no right to submit. I trust I shall ever be ready to go where God commands; and should I feel it my duty to preach in Montgomery Co., by his grace assisting, I shall try. The right to worship according to the dictates of conscience, with other rights was purchased at the expense of blood, lives and treasures, of our revolutionary fathers, and should not be surrendered but with life. The Constitution of North Carolina, which some of this company have taken a solemn oath to support, secures this right." Here a number of persons commenced asking questions at the same instant, having one employed in penning down the answers given.

T. Haltom—"Bro. Crooks—"

"O, don't call him brother."

"Yes let us call him brother. Bro. Crooks, did you not preach to servants not to obey their masters?"

"I did not."

"I did not hear you, but heard you did."

H. Hulen to Haltom—"Don't you interrupt the man."

Haltom much excited—shook his fist—stamped his foot to the floor, and striking the book-board, declared he was at home on his own premises.

Crooks—"O, men, keep calm."

O. Hulen—"Men, are we in Court? If so let the judges call the court to order; and if we come to worship God, let us do it."

Mr. Bright—"O, men, do your duty for which you come here."

Mr. Christian—"Well, can you comply with our request."

"I have answered that question."

"We have extended the olive branch of peace to you and if you do not receive it, you must abide the consequences."

Crooks, now for the first time rises from his seat—"I extend the olive to all men. I have lived in all good conscience to God and man since I came amongst you—feel resolved, despite of all opposition, to do the will of God and make my home in the cloudless regions of undying delight."

Mr. Cogins, in an excited tone—"Who are you—what were you before you come here, have you papers to show?"

"I have."

"By whom are they signed. The Governour of the State?"

"By members and ministers of the M. E. and M. P. Church, and the treasurer of the county court. I have them in my pocket, if you wish you can see them."

"Who knows by whom they are signed."

Mr. Christian—"Aaron Burr was once a good man and afterwards guilty of treason."

Crooks—"Aaron Burr was once a good man and afterwards guilty of treason, therefore, O. Hulen is a bad man. Aaron Burr was once a good man and afterwards turned traitor, therefore, S. Christian, is a bad man. Is not that strange logic."

Mr. Bright—"O men perform the duty for which you came."

Mr. Cogins—"Were you sent for to come to this State?"

"I was."

"By whom?"

"Forty persons in Guilford."

"Name some of them?"

"Well, Mr. John Sherwood of Jamestown, and Rev D. Wilson of Guilford."

"Was Wilson a preacher in the M. C.?"

"He was."

Mr. Bright—"Did not he apply for license, and it being refused, get mad and leave the church."

"He was a preacher of the M. E. Church."

"I heard it otherwise."

Said Mr. Cogins—"Did not annual conference pass resolutions condemnatory of your course?"

"Yes sir, the North Carolina Yearly Conference of the M. P. Church did pass sentence of condemnation upon us."

"No but one of the Northern conference of the W. M. Church."

"No sir."

"The papers say they did."

If they do, they say that which is untrue."

"Did you not write to the editor of the Wesleyan, that O. Hulen told you of a man in this county tying up his slave, putting a log of wood between his feet and whipping him to death?"

"I wrote no such thing."

"No not that he whipped him to death, but gave him five hundred lashes?"

"If you, Mr. Cogins, have a paper having such an article, and my name attached to it, perhaps I wrote it."

"Now just see there."

One of the crowd—"O. Hulen is here he can speak for himself."

"O. Hulen. did you give Mr. Crooks such information?"

"Are we in court? who is the judge?"

One says—"Christian let him show his authority.

O, we have nothing against Mr. Hulen."

During a miscellaneous interchange between the contending parties, Mr. Crooks, resuming his seat, seemed to lift his heart in devout but silent prayer.

As the preacher had but one answer to their demand four men were ordered to take him from the stand.—Orders were instantly obeyed.

O. Hulen—"Men take notice who takes hold of that man by violence."

Crooks wished to get his hat and books.

From the crowd—"Yes let him get them."

As they descended the pulpit, Wm. Hurley wished to know what they were going to do.

"O get out of our way."

"But stop, you don't run over me. What are you going to do with the preacher?"

"Going to take him to Troy."

"Well, ca'nt you take bail."

"We went no bail."

At this juncture, the preacher is dragged from the pulpit, and forced into a buggy. "Men, take notice," cries Hulen, "who forces this man into that buggy."

"I will help put him in," replies Cogins; "now do your damndest."

Much conversation ensued during the drive, for which we have no room. On their way they stopped to dine, and Crooks asked a blessing upon the meal, at the request of Christian. It was not hostility against the individual preacher evidently which actuated these men, but fear of the principles of his religion. "You, Mr. Crooks," said Christian, "must know that your church is contrary to our laws, for they favour Slavery, and your church is opposed to it.

C. As was above stated, churches are at liberty to make any terms of membership they see proper, and individuals to worship as they may deem right. If you believe it right to hold slaves, there are churches where you will be readily received. We believe we are equally entitled to a church whose doctrine and discipline prohibit slaveholding—a church according with our religious convictions.

But if the Wesleyan organization is contrary to your laws, because it makes slaveholding a test of membership, what will you do with the Quaker Church, which does the same?

Christian. O, the Quakers hold slaves.

Under what circumstances? Dying persons sometimes make them their agents in securing the freedom of their Slaves; this it at times proves the occasion of law suits; they hold them till the suit is decided, and if in favour of the slaves, their liberty is given them.

C. If it is right to hold them a littlewhile, it is right to hold them always.

Sanders spoke in the positive and said, "almost all the Quakers hold slaves. They are in favour of Slavery."

C. I stayed over night with Mr. H., a Quaker, and he said they were as much opposed to the Wesleyans as to any denomination; that he believed there are many slaveholders good Christians, and that he would advise every body to keep the Wesleyan preachers out of their houses.

"Would you," asked one of the mob of a friend of Crooks, "receive a slaveholder into your church?"

No, that is not our way.

Well, would you receive a slave?

Yes, if we believed him to be a Christian.

What! receive a nigger and not a white man. That is a grand insult depriving us of our rights.

The narrator proceeds:

Well, Mr. Crooks, will you give us a promise that you will leave the Co. and never preach in it again?

That question has been answered. When you found me, you found me a free man; when you leave me, you will leave me either a free or a dead one

Christian to the mob. Well, it will not do to commence a thing and not go through with it.

After a few minutes' consultation, four magistrates ordered the sheriff to take the preacher to jail.

The Sheriff. I command all present to assist me.

To *L.* Do you wish to go bail!

I believe not.

Orders are immediately obeyed.

The Sheriff. We are not going to allow bail; this case is too bad for that.

Well, Paul was imprisoned.

Yes, but them times was different from this.

And these times are no less different from those.

After ascending a pair of stairs,

Sheriff to the Jailor. Where shall I put him?

Put him where you please; I will keep him where you put him. Hesitating a few minutes whether to commit him to the dungeon or the debtor's room.

Well, we will put him in here (the debtor's room).

Introduced to Mr. Gad, a young man awaiting his trial for assault and battery, How do you do, Mr. Gad. A hissing sneer, such as devils use when they receive to their dark abode a lost spirit, was indulged by the rabble.

The doors are locked; Crooks is confined in a gloomy prison,

Now we have got him, and we are going to keep him, and N. Carolina, not Montgomery Co., will have to pay the expenses.

L. is left to choose between leaving the place in 15 minutes and going to jail. As he had nothing to detain him, he chose to leave.

The room in which the preacher was confined is about 9 by 13, and 7 to the ceiling above. His fare, or more properly his *foul*, was for bedding some blankets directly from the dungeon, which were ponderous with dust, and so offensive as to be sickening; these spread upon the floor. His portion was two meals per day, breakfast and dinner. The food was passable, the floor was his table, his fingers served instead of a fork, and pocket-knife for a table knife; a plate and a bowl were his dishes. His friends might furnish him with superior, if they saw proper, which they were going to do.

A committee was appointed to read any and all writings which passed between him and his friends, who were not permitted to visit him.

None but his enemies could enter that *sanctum sanctorum*. The committee was further instructed not to release their prisoner till he signed a bond like McBride's. Monday A. M., the jailor, or rather his deputy, who was one of the mob, and addicted to habits of inebriation, entered the jail about 7 o'clock. Good morning, Mr. Crooks. Good morning, sir. How does your pulse beat by this time with regard to leaving?

As it did on yesterday.

You had better leave; they are determined you shall not preach any more in the County.

Ah, indeed.

Nine o'clock, some seven or eight persons, amongst whom were Mr. L. a merchant in the place, and Mr. H. a Baptist, both slaveholders, and principal men in the mob, visited Mr. C.; were very sorry to see him in that unhappy situation; had no doubt that every man of honourable feelings and an honest heart was sorry.

Mr. C. No doubt of it at all.

You are being imposed upon by your professed friends; you are a stranger and they pretend they will do a great many things, but they are not to be depended on; they are the very dregs of the County. You cannot get them to be any thing that is good; those who are against you are the best men of the County; they are determined you shall preach no more in the County. There is no more possibility of success; you can't get justice, and you had as well attempt to set this jail on fire with cold water as to accomplish any good.

You say I cannot get justice; I will be convicted whether there is anything proven or not; will not men respect their oaths? If my friends are as ignorant and wicked as you say, they are the very people who need preaching. What I wish to know is, what is my duty; at present I do not think I can ever say I will never preach in Montgomery, or anywhere else.

You will have to come to that at last. Well, good morning.

Good morning.

After remaining from Sabbath till Tuesday, P. M., consulting his friends, who advised him to do all his conscience would permit to get his liberty, and being fully convinced that his rights would be protected neither in the court nor out of it, he desired an interview with the committee appointed by the mob, which was readily granted.

Dr. C. I am very sorry, Mr. Crooks, to see a man of your profession and qualifications for usefulness in your situation.

To be taken from my work, my friends, my liberties taken from me, and I confined in this gloomy cage, is, sir, by no means congenial to my feelings. But here I have been put, and here it appears I must stay.

Dr. C. O, we would be happy to release you; it can be a pleasure to no one to see you here.

Nor can it be a pleasure for me to remain, nor would I do so were I permitted to leave upon conditions not involving a surrender of my liberties as a man, but more especially as a Christian Minister.

Of course we will require nothing unreasonable.

It has been done.

Well, we will ask nothing that we Carolinians consider unreasonable.

I have been trying to look at things as they are, and to invoke the Divine guidance, and have come to the conclusion that I can be more extensively useful elsewhere than in this County, and hence to leave, intending not to preach in the County again.

We were instructed to require a bond.

I do not believe the bond, if given, would be worth a fig Nor should I consider any instrument of writing more binding than my word.

We believe you will do any thing you promise, but we must go according to orders.

I should like to assist in wording the bond.

It. We will write the bond, and then see if you can sign

Very well.

Whereupon the following was drawn.

Now, the condition of the above bond is such; That whereas the above bounden Adam Crooks has been advocating and preaching abolition doctrine contrary to our laws and institutions, and this having been made known to him and strictly enforced on him to desist and to leave this county and never again to preach in said county, and his having agreed to do so * * * to be done in ten days; after the reading of which Crooks stated that two things must be changed before he could sign the bond. First: You say I have advocated and preached abolition doctrine contrary to our laws and institutions; laws must be struck out. I do not believe I have violated your laws, and a man is always to be judged innocent, till proven guilty.

Dr. C. I suppose he does not like to leave the county under the stigma of having broken the law.

That is not the point with me Doctor. It is a matter of veracity. Not believing I have violated, I cannot say I have.

Wm. McKay, the jailor, and he who drew the bond. We think you have.

I do not ask you to say I have not, but to relieve me from saying I have.

Being put to vote, all but one voted not to have it erased.

Well, said one, we can discuss the question.

Crooks. The question being decided, is no longer open for discussion; to bring it before you for that purpose a mot on to reconsider must be made by one who voted with the majority. The matter dropped here, and "laws" struck out. The second change which must be made before I can sign this bond is: the conjunction "and" must be erased, and the participle "intending" inserted, so as to read—"and leave this county intending never to preach in said county again," instead of "leave this county and never &c."

My reason for asking this is, because, as a minister called of God to preach His gospel, I have no right to, nor can I, say I never will preach *any* where.

Believing I can be more useful elsewhere than in this county, it is my present intention to leave intending not to preach in it again; this I can *say*, or have it written down. Duty may require, and things may so change as for it to be desirable that I should preach in the county. This change also being made, the bond was signed, and Crooks permitted to go forth again to mingle in the mighty conflict which now convulses the moral world. His heart was deeply pained to leave the church in Montgomery; nor would he have done so, only from a clear persuasion that he would not have been permitted to be useful to it.

Whether these proceedings were effectual in breaking up the church at Montgomery we have not yet heard, but the *Wesleyan's* correspondent says that the Class-leader there is threatened with Lynch law, should he continue to meet his class, and that any person or persons seeking legal redress are promised that no other shall be awarded them.

Crooks, however, it seems is still in North Carolina, and we learn from the *Raliegh* (N. C.) *Standard* that more stringent measures will be resorted to to rid the State of him, and his coadjutor, Bacon. That paper says:

A large assemblage of respectable citizens from Guilford, Rockingham, Forsyth, Randolph, and Davidson, assembled on the 26th of last month, having understood that J. C. Bacon, an Ohio Abolition emissary, was to preach at Union, on Deep River, on that day; and the meeting sent a delegation to Union and other places for him, but he was not to be found. Before separating, J. W. Field, Esq., was called to the Chair, Robert F. Armfield was appointed Secretary, and a Committee, consisting of John A. Gilmer, Wilson S. Hill and Francis Fries, was appointed to report resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting The Committee made a Report, setting forth the true character of Crooks and Bacon as Abolition emissaries, and showing from the Annual Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that these men are engaged in the nefarious work of running off slaves to the free States, and in exciting slaves in the above counties to disobedience toward their masters; and the Committee concluded their report by recommending the adoption of the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we will give our continued and united efforts to expel, the said Adam Crooks and J. C. Bacon from our State, '*peaceably* if we *can*, *forcibly* if we *must*.'"

The Report and Resolution were unanimously adopted; and another Resolution was adopted, offering "a reward of $200 dollars for the apprehension of Adam Crooks and J. C. Bacon, or $100 for either of them, if taken in this at State anytime after the 5th day of August, 1851."

The Salem Press thus notices these emissaries and the meeting held to drive them from the country.

"The Abolitionists.—At the appointed meeting of the Abolitionists in Guilford, on Saturday last, we learn great excitement prevailed. Crooks was not there, having very wisely given previous notice, on Friday, by a letter to a gentleman in Greensborough, that he would not be present at the appointment, nor preach in the county, and that he would leave the State for Ohio in a very short time.

But little confidence, however, it appears, was placed in Crooks' honesty of purpose; and suspicion having been excited that Brooks (his associate) or some of their minions might attempt to hold forth, a numerous delegation from Guilford and adjoining counties proceeded to the place of appointment, fully determined to put down any attempt whatever on the part of the Crooksites then and there to promulgate their nefarious doctrine. The number of persons present has been variously estimated at from three to four hundred, about one-third of whom were Abolitionists.

Owing to threats of defence by force of arms, made, no doubt, at the instigation of Crooks, should he be molested, both parties were armed with guns, pistols and clubs, prepared for the worst. A certain abolition captain appearing with his company on the ground, fully equipped, was immediately ordered by Gen. Simpson to disband his men, which was done in double quick time.

Satisfactory search having been made, and it appearing that neither Crooks nor Bacon were present, the crowd dispersed toward evening.

We are sorry to say that the Crooksites displayed an undue amount of insolence during the day, to say the least of it, causing an intense excitement, and several attempts at harangues were summarily put down. We have been informed by cool, sober and peaceably disposed persons, not easily led away by excitement, that serious consequences were apprehended, and that strict obedience to orders given alone prevented a scene which would have been most awful to behold.

Several gentlemen addressed the company in opposition to the course the Abolitionists are pursuing. Extracts were read from the Annual Report of the Abolition Society at the North, in which the names of Crooks, McBride and Bacon appear as emissaries sent out to Virginia and North Carolina, to labour in the cause of Abolition, stating, we believe, that they had been instrumental in "running off" near one hundred slaves in the above named States during the past year.

Fellow-citizens of North Carolina! These are dangerous times! Let committees of vigilance be appointed in every County and District, not only to ferret out the haunts of foreign abolition emissaries, but it may be necessary to keep a watchful eye on some of our citizens, who may have fallen into the snare of these wily men, and innocently become their dupes. These agitators labour not, as they pretend, "for the good of the cause," but for the emolument which they receive. Language too strong against the conduct of these men cannot be used; a process too summary to rid ourselves of their presence cannot be adopted; they insult us, while they injure us; trample under foot our institutions and our laws; and how long they will be permitted to remain in this State unhung—is for the people of North Carolina to say.

We commend the course pursued by the people of the above-named counties, and we trust they will persevere in it until every vestige of Abolitionism is eradicated from their midst. These men, Crooks and Bacon, and those who willfully and deliberately sustain them in their conduct, are enemies to the peace and welfare of both white and black in the above-named counties.—This is strong language, but not strong enough. They are rogues, for they would steal and carry off to the free States honest men's property; they are murderers, for they would array the black against the white in deadly conflict, and reënact in our midst the horrid scenes of St. Domingo. These men have been borne with and warned until the patience of the people is exhausted. Should they return, or if others should be sent to supply their places, stripes and probably death will be their portion. The people of the above-named counties owe it to themselves and to the State to parley and treat with these emissaries no longer. The resolution reported by the Committee and adopted by the meeting covers the whole ground; and from the character of the man who drew it up and acted on it, we have no hesitation in predicting that it will be enforced.

We should be sorry to be compelled to answer always for the acts of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; but in this instance we should be quite willing to vouch for its entire innocence of the charge here made. These men, Crooks, Bacon, and McBride, have been successively sent to North Carolina by the Wesleyan Church, to fulfil the duties of their station to the Methodists of that section of country, who, on the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church, preferred to join themselves to the Wesleyans rather than to either the Northern or Southern section of their abominable old mother. The residence of these preachers at the South has nothing whatever to do with any Anti-Slavery Society; nor is there the slightest evidence that they ever aided or advised a single slave to escape from bondage. They were referred to in the Annual Report of the American and Foreign Society, it is true, and that reference, which we here copy, shows how feeble and puerile is the strongest objection and complaint which their enemies in North Carolina can bring against them. The only allusion made in that report to these persons or their mission to the South is contained in the following passage:

"The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." The truth of this Divine declaration is witnessed not only in the treatment to which a large portion of the slaves of this country are subject, but in the ferocity with which those are viewed who are suspected of enlightening them. A case has occurred in North Carolina, showing the truth of this remark, and we have been furnished with the following particulars: Some Anti-Slavery pamphlets were distributed in that State in 1844. The result was, some Methodists became so much opposed to Slavery that they refused to go with the South when the M. E. Church was divided. On inquiry, they learned that the Northern division was not wholly Anti-Slavery, but that there was a Methodist Anti-Slavery Church at the North. A letter of inquiry was sent to Rev. Luther Lee, of New York, who gave the requisite information, and a Wesleyan Methodist Church was organized in North Carolina, on the principle of non-fellowship with slaveholders.

In 1847, the Rev. Adam Crook was sent to that Southern field of labour. The work increased upon his hands, and in 1848, Rev. J. C. Bacon was sent to his assistance. The work still increased, and in 1849 Rev. Jesse McBride was sent. The work continues to increase in interest and extent; and there is at the present time a membership of nearly five hundred persons, with five or six chapels, extending over portions of North Carolina and Virginia.

The above named ministers have been prosecuted by slaveholders. Mr. Bacon has been twice indicted and put upon trial. On the charge of violating the law of Virginia by words in the pulpit, he was acquitted; but on a charge of circulating the Narrative of Frederick Douglass, he was convicted. An appeal was taken, and the higher Court reversed the decision. Mr. McBride has been indicted for giving a little pamplet, entitled "The Ten Commandments" (applying the Decalogue to Slavery), to a white girl where he boarded; tried, convicted, and sentenced to stand in the pillory an hour, receive twenty lashes on the bare back, and be imprisoned one year. He has appealed to the Supreme Court.

Shadrach and Long.—We hear of both these men within the week, and both seem to be minding their own business. The Montreal Correspondent of the *Cleveland True Democrat* asks:

Did you ever hear of one Shadrach Minkins; the one that ran away from Boston; the very same? Yes, here he is, 172 1-2 Notre Dame-st. I went with Mr. R. Maxcey, a gentleman from Mississippi, to see Shadrach, at Mr. M.'s request.

Shadrach is keeping a saloon and doing well, but says he had rather live in Boston, all other things being equal.

Mr. Maxcey said of Shadrach: He is a smart fellow, but he knows too much. I would not want him among my niggers.

As Mr. Maxcey thinks of Shadrach, so some other people seem to think of Long. Says the *Louisville Journal*:

We see it stated that Henry Long, whose seizure under the Fugitive Slave Law, in the City of New York, several months ago, caused so much excitement, has recently been making insurrectionary speeches to the negroes in the vicinity of Atlanta, Georgia. Long is a troublesome fellow, and will probably cause trouble wherever he goes. Some of the Georgia papers objected to his being taken into that State from Virginia, and, as it now appears, not without reason. The truth is, a negro who has been associating with the free negroes in the Eastern cities for a year or two is unfitted for that species of servitude which is most desirable. He will ever after be restless, and take every advantage of all occasions to make the slaves among whom he may be introduced, discontented.

Obituary.

Died—At Milton, Ulster Co., N. Y., on Thursday, the 14th instant, Edward Hallock.

We do not know precisely Mr. Hallock's age, but we know that he has fallen in the very prime and vigour of his manhood. Had we been asked when we last saw him, a few weeks ago, to predict the time of his dying we could not have imagined the paling of the ruddy glow of health that mantled in his bronzed complexion, and the feeble step of age or disease in his firm tread for many, many years to come. Too soon! too soon! is the wail everywhere and forever of the human heart. The marvel is not that sometimes the wisdom and mercy of a beneficent God is doubted, but that there is still faith and hope left in a world where

——"Never morning wore
To evening, but some heart did break."

Terrible as death always is, those only know how terrible it can be who know that if obedience to all acknowledged law could ensure life, then the still form before them ought now to be full of health and strength. There is no despair like the despair of utter helplessness and darkness—the conviction that obedience and disobedience are nothing, and accident only is to be feared or hoped for.

The friends of him of whom we are speaking might have reasonably hoped—if we may reasonably hope for anything—that he might have lived a half-century longer. Disease which could not be foreseen, and could not therefore be guarded against, destroyed him in a month.

Mr. Hallock's vocation was that of a farmer, and he was one of the most distinguished practical agriculturists of this State. He made of his profession what it should ever be, an intellectual and ennobling one. He tilled the earth with his own hands, and earned his bread in the sweat of his brow. He earned it also in the sweat of his brain, and made the sciences his helpmeets. He wrung from the earth her secrets; he watched her in all her moods and operations; he learnt her laws and the laws of her creation; and the generous earth gave of her fruits in abundance to her patient son for his toil of head and hand. It was not merely that his fields were heavy with grain, and his trees bowed down with fruit, and that his cattle were thriving; but he knew they would be so, and why, and how to make them so.

It is something to say of any man that he so mastered his calling, but those who knew Edward Hallock best will think now of this the last. In the great school of Nature he was made more than a farmer. His fields, the overhanging sky, the streams, and the woods, gave him lessons which he was worthy of receiving. His nature was in accordance with that around him, great and noble. He was never untrue to it, but was as honest as the sun-light, as generous as the seasons, and as gentle as a summer-rain.

He was as guileless, as single-hearted, and as compassionate as a child; but pity never made him forget to be just. The simplicity of his character was its greatest beauty; but he was not, therefore, wanting in a quick power of discrimination, in a quiet and patient firmness, and a severe judgment. It was therefore he was no sectary, and long ago quietly dropped from among Friends in whose Society he had a birthright membership. He was so true to their principles that he threw off the form that once covered them. Yet he was never intolerant, and could bear to be proscribed because he would tolerate all opinions in his faith in the truth, and would be merciful to all men of all colours and all conditions because he was a member of the human family, let what would become of other memberships.

It is not his friends only who have lost him. The afflicted and the poor who knew him mourn for him; and those who never knew him may mourn for one to whom the needy and the sorrowful never appealed in vain.

Communications.

FOR THE STANDARD.]

Lyndon, Cattaraugus Co., July 15, 1851.

Mr. Editor: An Anti-Slavery Society has just been organized in this town, the Constitution of which makes it the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to prepare a brief statement of its formation and object, and the number of its members, for publication in the *Standard*. Having been appointed to that office, I transmit to you the following.

Yours truly, H. J. Kittle.

Several weeks since, Mr. J. H. Philleo, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, came among us, and, after lecturing several times in the different school-houses of the town, on the subject of American Slavery, and the relations and duties of the people of the North to the wronged and plundered bondmen of the South, organized a Town Society, based upon the principle of "No Union with Slaveholders."

The object of the Society is to unite the Abolitionists of the town, on a common platform of avowed and uncompromising hostility to the Slave Power of this country, with a view to co-operating with similar Societies which have been and are to be formed, in other towns, for the purpose of forming a Cattaraugus County Anti-Slavery Society, at such time and place as shall be hereafter designated and published in the *Standard* and other Anti-Slavery papers. The County Society hereafter to be formed is to co-operate, as an auxiliary, with the American Society, in the work of reforming the public sentiment of the country on the subject of human rights.

We have now 17 members, male and female, and a prospect of adding to the number, at our next meeting.

At our first meeting, the following persons were appointed officers of the Society:

C. Stebbens, ... President.
Jacob A. Philleo, . . Rec. Secretary.
Syrus Patterson, . . Treasurer.
H. J. Kittle, ... Cor. Secretary.

By order of the Society.

H. J. Kittle, Cor. Secretary.

NEW YORK CENTRAL COLLEGE.

S. H. Gay—*Dear Sir:* I embrace the first opportunity which the labours and duties of a travelling agent allow me to redeem my promise in my last, and to give an account of the Commencement of New York Central College. In company with Mr. Francis, a coloured brother from Canada West, who is visiting the East in behalf of the Dawn School, being duly authorized and appointed so to do by the American Baptist Free Mission Society, and whom I would take this occasion to recommend to such of your readers as he may meet with, I arrived at McGrawville on the Saturday evening previous to commencement. The exercises on Lord's Day morning, at the College chapel were conducted by Mr. Fairbanks, who, you and your readers will remember, was imprisoned in Kentucky, a few years ago, in company with Miss Webster, for aiding in the escape of a slave. Onesimus was his subject; and had some of our Rev. D. D.'s been present, doubtless their fine feelings would have been sadly jarred by the Anti-Slavery construction which he put upon Paul's letter to Philemon. While a student at Madison University (Hamilton, N. Y.), I had been accustomed to hear the Rev. Dr. Conant—he who is advertised in some of the papers as preparing a new translation of the Bible for the common folks—speak on the subject of Paul's letter to Philemon, in the College chapel, and I could not but contrast the teachings in this respect at McGrawville with the teachings at Hamilton. The officers of New York Central College, and Professor Tillinghast, whose time it was to preach in course, very cheerfully gave way for Mr. Fairbanks.

The College Association met on Tuesday, and were addressed by the Rev. S. J. May, of Syracuse. The subject of his address was the development of the entire man—physical, intellectual, and moral. Of it I need say no more than this, that it was worthy of the man and the occasion, and was listened to with deep attention. The Association voted to request its publication. I hope the request will be granted. Tuesday afternoon was occupied with the election of the Officers of the Association. George Curtis, Esq., of Utica, was elected President; Professor Tillinghast, Corresponding Secretary.

Tuesday evening was the time appointed for an Address before the Union Society of the College. Chas. B. Sedgewick, Esq., of Syracuse, had been selected as the speaker, but, from some cause or other, he failed to arrive. The Society, therefore, applied to Mr. May to have him fill Mr. Sedgewick's place. To this he consented, and kept the audience in breathless silence for an hour and a quarter, save when the sentiment or manner called forth an expression of approval from them, and of such instances there were several, as you may easily guess when the subject of the address was the Life and Character of George Thompson. If there were any who came to the meeting that evening with minds prejudiced against Mr. Thompson, they must have left with minds far otherwise. I heard Mr. Thompson several times while on his recent visit, and could not but admire his eloquence; but after hearing Mr. May's address, I admired the man. Mr. May's first address was written and read, but this last was delivered *extempore*. On leaving home, I presume, he did not expect to be called on to fill Mr. Sedgewick's place.

Wednesday was commencement. The hills and valleys poured forth their hundreds. The larger chapel of the college was filled to overflowing. The day was fine. The surrounding country in all its summer loveliness. The hills around, cultivated to their summits, presented a beautiful sight. Inside, the ladies of the college had been busy. Wreaths of evergreens and roses hung gracefully around the chapel, and were arrayed in beautiful festoons around the platform, over which were three mottoes in Hebrew, Latin and Greek. That in Greek I have forgotten; but the Hebrew was, "Let there be light," and the Latin, "For God and Truth." Exceedingly appropriate. The efforts of the young gentlemen and ladies in oration and essay were in the highest degree praiseworthy. Though none were advanced to the graduating point, their efforts would not have been unworthy of such an occasion. What pleased me the most was the atmosphere of freedom, which all seemed to have breathed. Never did I attend a commencement where there was such a fine variety of subjects presented. Usually, you know, on such occasions, the student is confined to some merely literary topic, or if allowed to venture beyond and to discuss any subject of reform, he is compelled to take the popular side. But here, while we had the merely literary topic, we had also the various reforms of the day amply discussed *pro* and *con*. And when the student looked round for examples worthy of imitation on the pages of history, or when he sought to illustrate, he did not shrink from the names of Garrison, of Smith, or of Thompson any more than from those of Luther, of Melancthon, and others. I could ascribe the very high degree of excellence in the productions to nothing else than the freedom of thought and investigation allowed the student. The music was fine, both the instrumental and vocal, and all by the students. One young lady, a daughter of the Rev. Lyndon King, appeared on the platform and read her essay, dressed in Bloomer costume. In the evening a social gathering of the remaining friends and students took place, with a free interchange of opinions. Colour is here no mark of distinction. All are perfectly equal, the only ground of distinction being intellectual and moral worth. The friends of the Anti-Slavery cause should rally around the college. Its influence will yet be mighty, I think, for the truth. God speed it,

Yours, Geo. G. Ritchie.

ANNIVERSARY OF WEST INDIAN NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

Last evening a public soirée was held at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle street, by the American fugitive slaves now in London, and their friends, to commemorate the emancipation of the West Indian slave population, and also for the purpose of welcoming Geo. Thompson, Esq., M. P., from an abolition of Slavery mission to the United States. The large hall was very much crowded on the occasion, and among those present we observed George Thompson, Esq., M. P.; Sir Francis Knowles, Bart.; the Rev. Jabez Burns, D. D.; the Rev. J. Stevenson, M. A.; the Rev. Mr. Mathews, Andrew Paton, Esq., of Glasgow, and a number of other gentlemen, ardent advocates of slave abolition.

There was also present Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman (of Boston, U. S.), whose efforts in the suppression of Slavery in the Southern States of America are highly commendable. She was accompanied by Miss Weston. The presence of the first named of these ladies, from the prominent part she has of late taken in endeavouring to do away with that abominable stain which still exists in the constitution of what is termed free and republican America, created considerable interest.

The chair was most appropriately filled by Mr. William Wells Brown, himself a fugitive slave.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, remarked that, although the metropolis had of late been inundated with meetings of various characters, having reference to almost every variety of subject, yet that the subject they were called upon that evening to discuss differed from them all. Many of those by whom he was surrounded, like himself, had been victims to the inhuman institution of Slavery, and were in consequence exiled from the land of their birth. They were fugitives from their native land, but not fugitives from justice, and they had not fled from a monarchical, but from a so-called republican government. They came from amongst a people who declared, as a part of their creed, that all men were born free, but who, while they did so, made slaves of every sixth man, woman, and child in the country (hear, hear). He must not, however, forget that one of the purposes for which they were met to-night was to commemorate the emancipation of their brothers and sisters in the isles of the sea. That act of the British Parliament, and he might add in this case with peculiar emphasis, of the British nation, passed on the 12th day of August, 1833, to take effect on the 1st day of August, 1834, and which enfranchised 800,000 West Indian slaves, was an event sublime in its nature, comprehensive and mighty in its immediate influences and remote consequences, precious beyond expression to the cause of freedom, and encouraging beyond the measure of any government on earth to the hearts of all enlighted and just men. This act was the commencement of a long course of philanthropic and Christian efforts on the part of some of the best men that the world ever produced. It was not his intention to go into a discussion or a calculation of the rise and fall of property, or whether sugar was worth more or less by the act of emancipation. But the abolition of Slavery in the West Indies was a blow struck in the right direction at that most inhuman of all traffics, the slave trade—a trade which would never cease so long as Slavery existed, for where there was a market there would be merchandise; where there was demand there would be a supply; where there were carcases there would be vultures; and they might as well attempt to turn the water, and make it run up the Niagara river, as to change this law. It was often said by the Americans that England was responsible for the existence of Slavery there, because it was introduced into that country while the colonies were under the British Crown. If that was so, they must come to the conclusion that, as England abolished Slavery in the West Indies, she would have done the same for the American States if she had had the power to do so; and if that was so, they might safely say that the separation of the United States from the mother country was (to say the least) a great misfortune to one-sixth of the population of that land. England had set a noble example to America, and he would to heaven his countrymen would follow the example. The Americans boasted of their superior knowledge, but they needed not to boast of their superior guilt, for that was set upon a hill top, and that too, so high, that it required not the lantern of Diogenes to find it out. Every breeze from the western world brought upon its wings the groans and cries of the victims of this guilt. Nearly all countries had fixed the seal of disapprobation to Slavery, and when, at some future age, this stain on the page of history shall be pointed at, posterity will blush at the discrepancy between American profession and American practice. What was to be thought of a people boasting of their liberty, their humanity, their Christianity, their love of justice, and at the same time keeping in Slavery nearly four millions of God's children, and shutting out from them the light of the Gospel, by denying the Bible to the slave (hear, hear). No education, no marriage, everything done to keep the mind of the slave in darkness. There was a wish on the part of the people of the northern States to shield themselves from the charge of slaveholding, but as they shared in the guilt, he was not satisfied with letting them off without their share in the odium. And now a word about the Fugitive Slave Bill. That measure was in every respect an unconstitutional measure. It set aside the right formerly enjoyed by the fugitive of trial by jury—it afforded to him no protection, no opportunity of proving his right to be free, and it placed every free colored person at the mercy of any unprincipled person who might wish to lay claim to him (hear). That law is as opposed to the principles of Christianity—foreign alike to the laws of God and man, it had converted the whole population of the free States into a hond of slave catchers, and every rood of territory is but so much hunting ground, over which they might chase the fugitive. But while they were speaking of Slavery in the United States, they must not omit to mention that there was a strong feeling in that land, not only against the Fugitive Slave Law, but also against the existence of Slavery in any form. There was a band of fearless men and women in the city of Boston, whose labours for the slave had resulted in good beyond calculation. This noble and heroic class had caused the whole country to be in agitation, until their principles have taken root in almost every association in the land, and which, with God's blessing, will, in due time, cause the Americans to put into practice what they have so long professed (hear, hear). He wished it to be continually held up before the country, that the northern States are as deeply implicated in the guilt of Slavery as the South. The north had a population of 13,553,328 freemen; the south had a population of only 6,393,756 freemen; the north has 152 representatives in the house, the south only 81, and it would be seen by this, that the balance of power was with the free States. Looking, therefore, at the question in all its aspects, he was sure that there was no one in this country but who would find out that the Slavery of the United States of America was a system the most abandoned and the most tyrannical (hear, hear).

The Rev. Mr. Mathews next addressed the meeting, and detailed the course of treatment he had undergone while upon a visit to Kentucky, for endeavouring to give a few lectures in that State against the principle of one man keeping another in bondage. At Richmond, in that State, he was met with the most determined opposition. He was, in fact, mobbed out of the place.—He went to another place, not far distant from that, and to which he was pursued by several people who had driven him out of Richmond, and by them underwent no less than ten duckings in a pond, because he would not say that he would desist from preaching Anti-Slavery doctrines in the State.

Mr. George Thompson then rose, and was received by the audience with much applause. He said that he felt so proud at the position in which he was placed, that he felt almost inclined to say, with Shakspeare.—"My bosom's lord sits lightly on its throne." The present he considered, was a great exhibition, while at the same time it was a pleasurable exhibition, and he was proud of the metropolis of England, which could call forth so enthusiastic an assemblage upon an occasion such as the present. There would be a great moral effect arise from this meeting. If such a meeting were to be held in America, it would move the country from its utmost boundaries, but here they had a meeting held for the abolition of Slavery, and a black man in the chair—(cheers)—one who was the hated, the insulted, the scorned, and the hunted of so-called independent and guilty America.—(cheers.) He had for eight months of the past year gone through America, and in the course of that time he had in many places promulgated that doctrine which he was there that night to advocate. When he went there he had no object in view but to stir up public feeling against the keeping of these three millions one hundred and eighty-nine thousand slaves who were unjustly held in bondage. Several of his meetings and proceedings had been noticed in some of the papers of this country during the time he was in America: but while these were of the most unjust character, he was astonished that a society which existed in this country calling itself the Anti-Slavery Society, did not protect him from those attacks (cheers). He could state, from what he had found out from observation, that there was no such institution in America as the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It was in that country a mere nonentity—it was a name—

A Gentleman.—Where is Scoble?

Mr. G. Thompson.—Echo answers where, but leaving that subject, he would refer to the incidents connected with his journey to the provinces which he had named. On landing in the city of Boston, he found it in a state of the greatest commotion, and what would the meeting think was the cause of that commotion?—It was not that an enemy was about to attack it, or that there was the least apprehension of any catastrophe overtaking it, but the whole cause of the commotion was, that a man and his wife had fled from the bazar-house of Slavery, and were concealed within the city of Boston. This man who had escaped had, since his escape in that city, betaken himself to handicraft labour, so that he was indebted to no one for his support, and his wife was a woman of whom, he would only say that there was not in brocade that evening, in the finest saloons of the West-end, a lady who could surpass her in personal charms—(cheers). These then were the parties whom the United States government were so active in finding out in Boston, for the purpose of bringing to punishment at Boston, when he arrived He sought out these fugitives, who were no other than Mrs. Ellen Craft, and her husband. He found them out in company with Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, than whom a more sincere heart in the cause the emancipation of the slave did not exist in this or any other country. He was in consequence accused of having aided these parties in escaping, and was fined one thousand dollars for several offences in that respect. Under these circumstances, a large meeting of the friends of the abolition of the slave was held in Boston at which he attended, and which was called to give an expression against the conduct which these two persons had been subjected to. That meeting was no doubt interrupted, but the interruption did not show that it proceeded in any manner from the badness of their cause. The meeting was a large one, containing some 3,500 people, and it was not at all wonderful that about 150 blackguards, having got into the place where it was held, should have succeeded in causing the outbreak which was so graphically described in the newspapers of this country (cheers). During the other eight months which he had remained in America he had been most successful. He did not labour in that manner for his own personal interest or for the interest particularly of his constituents of the Tower Hamlets, anxious as he always was to do anything that would promote their welfare, but in his tour in America, he had laboured for what he conceived to be the benefit of the world at large, and he was glad to think that he had come off victorious (cheers). He had now come back again to this country, he had addressed his constituents on the subject, and they, so far as he had seen them, had applauded the efforts he had been making in furtherance of the emancipation of the slave. (Hear, hear, and cheering). Mr. Thompson concluded a most eloquent speech, by impressing upon the meeting the duty of taking up the cause of American Slavery in that earnest and energetic mode which the exigencies of the case required, and to do what they could to shame a republic, boasting itself to be free, to have in connexion with it such an abominable system (cheers).

Mr. James Gough and Mr. Spencer T. Hall then addressed the meeting in terms highly condemnatory of American Slavery.

An appeal to the people of Great Britain and the world was next proposed by a slave lately escaped from the United States, and seconded by another gentleman of colour. It set forth, that at the present time, there was between three and four millions of persons held in a state of Slavery in the United States, and that these were still increasing, and would continue to do so unless the nations of the earth raised their voice against such a system.

This appeal was unanimously agreed to, and in the course of its being so, a collection was made in the meeting on behalf of the fugitive slaves.

Mr. Robert Smith next proposed a resolution to the effect, that the meeting had heard, with much pleasure and satisfaction, the efforts which Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison was making in America for the emancipation of Slavery in those States, and earnestly prayed that his efforts would in the end be attended with success.

This resolution was seconded by Mr. J. Brooks, and cordially agreed to.

On the proceedings being about to close, Mr. George Thompson introduced two most interesting young ladies daughters of the Chairman, whose freedom has been purchased, and who accompanied the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets in his homeward trip across the Atlantic. The appearance of these, no doubt, produced a stronger feeling of disgust against the system than all the arguments which could be urged against it, and they were repeatedly and loudly cheered.

In conclusion, a cordial vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman, and the meeting separated.

——A Convention of free people of colour is now in session at Indianopolis, and is occupied in deliberating upon various matters relating to the interests of its constituents as a class. There is said to exist among its members a strong inclination to remove out of the State of Indiana to some other country, where they hope to enjoy greater social advantages After much debate, a resolution was adopted by a large majority, providing that, should the laws of the State become so oppressive as to be intolerable, they would recommend their people to emigrate to Canada, Jamaica, or elsewhere, in preference to Liberia, against which there appears to be a violent prejudice in the Convention. Among the countries spoken of for the purpose of migration, besides those mentioned, are Mexico, New-Grenada, and Central America; but Canada is generally regarded as most eligible, on account of its accessibility. At last accounts the Convention had under discussion a resolution somewhat contradictory to that which had just been passed, as mentioned above. It asserts, in substance, that the free negroes have a right to remain, if they choose, in the United States, the land of their nativity; and it accordingly recommends them to stay here and strive for their moral, social, political, and intellectual elevation. It was expected that this resolution would be defeated.

——Prejudice against Colour.—This unlucky and unreasonable feeling, so rampant at the North, does not seem to trouble "our Southern brethren" much—at any rate, it does not when the coloured person is a slave. We were passing the Tremont House a few mornings since, when a carriage drove up to the door. On the back seat there were a gentleman and lady, and on the front seat a woman—fat, black, and more than forty—holding two white children in her lap. This was all right, of course; but if the same thing was to happen in this city, all parties being free persons, the horror, disgust, and indignation of our people would know no bounds.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

——Prefers a "Muss."—A certain Judge Wilkinson of Mississippi, is reported by the *Lexington* (*Miss.*) *Advertiser* to have said in a recent speech, that he desired to see the Fugitive Slave Law repealed, as he felt no interest in protecting Slavery in Virginia, Kentucky or Maryland; let the Yankees take their negroes and welcome, for what he cared; Mississippi lost but few slaves, and had no interest in the law.

The Judge is manifestly one of those humanities whom Mr. Webster has recently described as always craving a topic—he manifestly desires the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, to give him one. May-be some such fire-eater as the Judge might be induced to go to Congress and help the Abolitionists to repeal the law. Virginia, Kentucky, and Maryland would then properly appreciate their vociferous appeals for Union of the Southern States—for the particular purposes of all anti-Fugitive Slave Law men.—*New Orleans Bulletin.*

——Emancipation in the West Indies.—Rev. Mr. Oughton, English Baptist missionary to Jamaica during the last sixteen years, is now on a tour of the States, and has been for a few days past in this city.—Sabbath before last, he preached in the First Baptist church, Rev. Dr. Neale's and in the evening, gave an account of the deeply interesting scenes which occurred in Jamaica, at the time of the final emancipation of the slaves on that island, in 1838. In the course of his remarks he described the entire failure of the apprenticeship system, and the desire of the Colonial Legislature, consisting of the slaveholders themselves, that is might come to an end. Mr. O. was present at one of the famous midnight prayer meetings of the pious slaves held to usher in, in a most appropriate manner, the ever memorable First of August. The time at this meeting was principally spent in remarks and audible prayer by the pastor, until ten minutes before twelve o'clock, when all prostrated themselves on their knees in silent devotion, supplication and gratitude to their Almighty Deliverer. When the clock struck twelve, the congregation, consisting of several thousands, arose and broke forth spontaneously in singing "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," &c. The next evening another prayer and conference meeting was held, near the close of which, somewhat to the surprise of the pastor, a large, black, gloomy looking coffin was brought into the meeting-house and placed on a bier in front of the pulpit. On the top of the coffin was engraved—"Slavery in Jamaica Died 1st of August, 1838." They then cast into the coffin, the various insignia and accompaniments of Slavery. One threw in a pair of handcuffs, another a set of shackles, another a chain, a fourth the lash of a whip cut into a thousand pieces, followed by the handle of the same, which a strong man, over his knee, cracked into shivers; then by torch-light the coffin was carried, with a mock solemnity, to one of the most dismal spots in the neighborhood, and there buried in a deep grave, after which, in the open air, and in the midst of a dense forest, the congregation united again in singing the Doxology in long metre, "Praise God," &c.

Mr. O. stated that the next day an incident occurred equally expressive of the joy, gratitude and domestic happiness which liberty had brought to the slaves.—Thirty couples, attended by twice the number of groomsmen and bridesmaids, appeared on the grass plot in front of his house, the church not being large enough to accomodate them, to be united in holy wedlock. A more joyous wedding never occurred.

Mr. O. gave other interesting incidents, which we have not room to report, showing that the experiment of emancipation in the West Indies has been entirely successful. We are pleased to add that while Mr. Oughton uttered the soundest Anti-Slavery sentiments he judiciously refrained from all sharp denunciation and unkind animadversions upon the institutions of the country, where he is now received as a stranger and a guest.—*Christian Watchman.*

MARRIAGES.

Sturgis—Paine.—In Worcester, Mass., 14th instant, by Rev. Dr. Hill, Mr. Henry P. Sturgis, of Manila, to Miss Elizabeth Orne, eldest daughter of Frederick Wm. Paine, Esq., of W.

Tochman—Gagiello.—At Harper's Ferry, Va., 9th inst., Major Gaspar Tochman, formerly of Warsaw, Poland, to Miss Apollonia Gagiello, late of Lithuania, Poland.

Howe—Lord.—In North Weymouth, Mass., 12th inst., by Rev. J. Emery, Gen. Appleton Howe, M. D., to Miss Eliza, daughter of Joseph Lord, Esq.

DEATHS.

Janney.—Drowned, on the 3d instant, in Monmouth Co., N. J., Joseph Taylor Janney, of Lower Makefield, Bucks Co., Pa.

Olin.—At Middletown, Ct., Rev. Dr. Stephen Olin, President of the Wesleyan University at that place, and a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Rogers.—In Dorchester, Mass., 11th inst., Rev. Wm M. Rogers, Pastor of the Central Church, Winter street, Boston, aged 45 years.

Poetry.

THE RIVER.

BY CHARLES H. HITCHINGS.

"On through time there rolls a river,
Fed with thought's eternal dew—
Rolls for ever, resting never,
Toward the perfect and the true:
Barriers broken, checks defeated,
Darkness scattered, lets down-hurled,
Truth and freedom firmlier seated,
Mark its progress through the world.

"Trace it to its source: it rose in
Darkness of abysmal night,
Shades of error round it closing,
Pervious to no purer light;
Shallow then, but deepening ever,
From the glooms it burst its way—
First a streamlet, then a river—
From the darkness to the day.

"Wave by wave for aye increasing
Still victorious, still sublime,
With an impulse never ceasing,
O'er the rocks and shoals of time,
Toward the vanward hurrying onward,
From the old unto the new—
Rolls it ever, resting never,
Toward the perfect and the true.

"Woe to them that, idly rearing
Old obstruction in its track,
Taught by all the past no fearing,
Fain would turn its current back:
They but tempt their own undoing;
Like a giant in its wrath,
O'er their barriers, rent to ruin,
It will thunder on its path.

"For it rolls resistless onward,
Deepening, widening, on its way:
Pressing stronglier toward the vanward,
Stronglier toward the perfect day—
Lit with light from heaven, and aided
By the earnest hearts and true—
By the soul, to God that made it,
Struggling on from old to new.

"Sigh not, then, for the departed—
It hath passed and gone for aye;
But, with impulse nobler-hearted,
For the future clear the way.
Help to flow this mighty river,
Fed with thought's eternal dew,
Till it merge at last for ever
In the perfect and the true."

PAST AND PRESENT.

Like one who has a weary way to go
Across a moor at night, o'er which the wind
Sounds like the voice of his dispairing mind,
Haunting the ear in fretful moanings low.—
So, I in the wide night of present woe
No glimmering joy through all the darkness find,
Save thee, long Past, like lights left far behind,
Which, as I wander on, the fainter grow.

Bright days may follow grief as well as night,
Though not starry thought have we meanwhile;
Many a battle has the heart to fight
With all temptations—much to reconcile;
But Love—its sword—puts all those wrongs to flight
Which make the face the tomb of its own smile.

Athenæum, VINCENT LEIGH HUNT.

Miscellany.

A DEFENCE OF THE ALCHEMISTS.

LIEBIG, the great German, in his late "Chemical Letters," which have been just translated and published in England, enters [says the *Evening Post*] into a partial defence of the old alchemists, which is ingenious, to say the least, and will be read with interest by other than scientific readers. He says:

"In our day, men are only too much disposed to regard the views of the disciples and followers of the Arabian school, and of the late alchemists, on the subject of transmutation of metals, as a mere hallucination of the human mind, and, strangely enough, to lament it. But the idea of the variable and changeable corresponds to universal experience, and always precedes that of the unchangeable. The notion of bodies, chemically simple, was first firmly established in the science by the introduction of the Daltonian doctrine, which admits the existence of solid particles not further divisible, or atoms. But the ideas connected with this view are so little in accordance with our experience of nature, that no chemist of the present day holds the metals, absolutely, for simple, undecomposable bodies, for true elements. Only a few years since, Berzelius was firmly convinced of the compound nature of nitrogen, chlorine, bromine, and iodine; and we allow our so-called simple substances to pass for such, not because we know that they are in reality undecomposable, but because they are as yet undecomposed; that is, because we cannot yet demonstrate their decomposability so as to satisfy the requirements of science. But we all hold it possible that this may be done to-morrow. In the year 1807, the alkalies, alkaline earths, and earths proper, were regarded as simple bodies, till Davy demonstrated that they were compounds of metals with oxygen.

"In the last twenty-five years of the preceding century, many of the most distinguished philosophers believed in the transmutation of water into earth. Indeed, this belief was so widely prevalent, that Lavoisier, the greatest chemist of his day, thought it advisable, in a series of beautiful experiments, to submit to investigation the grounds on which it rested, and to point out their fallacy. Such notions as that of the production of lime during the incubation of eggs, and of iron and metallic oxides in the animal and vegetable vital processes, have found, even in the present century, acute and enthusiastic defenders.

"It is the prevailing ignorance of chemistry, and especially of its history, which is the source of the very ludicrous and excessive estimation of ourselves, with which many look back on the age of alchemy; as if it were possible, or even conceivable, that for more than a thousand years the most learned and acute men, such as Francis Bacon, Spinosa, and Leibnitz, could have regarded as true and well-founded an opinion void of all foundation. On the contrary, must we not suppose, as a matter beyond a doubt, that the idea of the transmutability of metals stood in the most perfect harmony with all the observations and all the knowledge of that age, and in contradiction to none of these?

"In the first stage of the development of science, the alchemists could not possibly have any other notions of the nature of metals than those which they actually held. No others were admissible, or even possible; and their views were consequently, by natural law, inevitable. Without these ideas, chemistry would not now stand in its present perfection; and in order to call the science into existence, and in the course of fifteen hundred or two thousand years to bring it to the point which it has now reached, it would have been necessary to create the science anew. We hear it said that the idea of the philosopher's stone was an error; but all our views have been developed from errors, and that which to-day we regard as truth in chemistry, may, perhaps, before to-morrow, be recognised as a fallacy.

"Every theory which urges men to labour and research, which excites acuteness and sustains perseverance is a gain to science; for it is labour and research which lead to discoveries. The three laws of Kepler, which are regarded as the foundation of modern astronomy, were not derived from just views of the nature of that force which retains the planets in their revolutions and in their orbits, but are simply deductions obtained by the art of experimenting; that is to say, by labour and research.

"The most lively imagination, the most acute intellect, is not capable of devising a thought which could have acted more powerfully and constantly on the minds and faculties of men, than that very idea of the philosopher's stone. It was that same force which urged thousands of adventurers, with and after Columbus, to venture fortune and life on the discovery of a new world, and which, in our day, drives hundreds of thousands to cross the mountains of Western America, and thus to spread cultivation and civilization over that hitherto neglected part of the globe.

"In order to know that the philosopher's stone did not really exist, it is indispensable that every substance accessible to study and observation should be observed and examined, in accordance with the scientific resources of the time. But it is precisely in this that we perceive the almost miraculous influence of the idea. The strength of the opinion could not be broken, till science had reached a certain stage of development. During centuries, as we have seen, whenever doubt arose and the labourers became languid in their efforts, a mysterious unknown was sure to appear at the right moment, who convinced some prominent and trustworthy man of the reality of the great Magisterium. . . . . . .

"Many of the fundamental or leading ideas of the present time appear, to him who knows not what science has already achieved, as extravagant as the notions of the alchemists. Not, indeed, the transmutation of metals, which seemed so probable to the ancients, but far stranger things are held by us to be attainable. We have become so accustomed to wonders that nothing any longer excites our wonder. We fix the solar rays on paper, and send our thoughts literally with the velocity of lightning to the greatest distances. We can, as it were, melt copper in cold water, and cast it into statues. We can freeze water into ice, or mercury into a solid malleable mass, in white-hot crucibles; and we consider it quite practicable to illuminate most brightly entire cities with lamps devoid of flame or fire, and to which the air has no access. We produce, artificially, ultramarine, one of the most precious minerals; and we believe, that to-morrow or next day some one may discover a method of producing, from a piece of charcoal, a splendid diamond; from a bit of alum, sapphires or rubies; or from coal-tar the beautiful colouring principle of madder, or the valuable remedies known as quinine and morphine. All these things are either as precious or more useful than gold. Every one is occupied in the attempt to discover them, and yet this is the occupation of no individual inquirer. All are occupied with these things, inasmuch as they study the laws of the changes and transformations to which matter is subject; and yet no one individual is specially engaged in these researches, inasmuch as no one, for example, devotes his life and energies to the solution of the problem of making diamonds or quinine. Did such a man exist, furnished with the necessary knowledge, and with the courage and perseverance of the old gold-makers, he would have a good prospect of being enabled to solve such problems. The latest discoveries on the constitution and production of the organic bases permit us to believe all this, without giving to any one the right to ridicule us as makers of gold."

Nay, he adds:

"The philosopher's stone, for which the ancients sought with a dim and ill-defined impulse, was, in its perfection, nothing else than the science of chemistry. Is that not the philosopher's stone which promises to increase the fertility of our fields, and to insure the prosperity of additional millions of mankind? Does not chemistry promise that, instead of seven grains, we shall be enabled to raise eight or more on the same soil? Is that science not the philosopher's stone which changes the ingredients of the crust of the earth into useful products, to be further transformed, by commerce, into gold? Is that knowledge not the philosopher's stone which promises to disclose to us the laws of life, and which must finally yield to us the means of curing diseases and of prolonging life?"

One more curious passage we must give:

"That which chiefly excites our wonder is, that the existence of the philosopher's stone should have been regarded, for so many centuries, as a truth established beyond all doubt, while yet no one possessed it, and each adept only maintained that it was in the possession of another.

"Who, indeed, could entertain a doubt, after Van Helmont had declared, in 1618, that on several occasions there had been sent to him, from an unknown hand, one-fourth of a grain of the precious material, with which he had converted into pure gold eight ounces of quicksilver? Did not Helvetius, the distinguished body physician to the Prince of Orange, and the bitter opponent of alchemy, himself relate, in his *Vitulus aureus quem mundus adorat et orat* (1667), that he had obtained the most convincing proofs of the existence of the philosopher's stone? For he, the sceptic, had received, from a stranger, a fragment of the size of half a rape seed, and therewith, in presence of his wife and son, had transmuted six drachms of lead into gold, which stood the tests applied to it by the Warden of the Mint at the Hague! Were not two pounds and a half of quicksilver converted into pure gold, of which a large medal was struck (Kopp. Geschichte der Chemie IV. 171), with the figure of the God of Day (sol or gold) holding the caduceus of Mercury, to indicate the origin of the precious metal, and the legend Divina Metamorphosis exhibita Pragæ, xv. Jan., An. mdcxlviii. in præsentia San. Cæs. Maj. Ferdinandi Tertii, &c.? Was not this done at Prague, in presence of the Emperor Ferdinand III. (1637–1657) by the burgomaster, Count Von Russ, with the aid of one grain of a red powder, which he had received from a certain Richthausen, and he again from an unknown? (According to J. F. Gmelin, this medal was still extant in 1797, in the treasury at Vienna.) The Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt also, Ernst Ludwig, as we are told by the alchemists, received, from an unknown hand, a packet containing a red and white tincture, with directions for their use. Ducats were coined of the gold which had been made from lead by this means, and from the silver thus obtained were coined the Hessian specie dollars (Species thaler) of 1717, on which is the legend, Sic deo placuit in Tribulationibus (Kopp. II. 172)."

And since we are touching on curious passages, let us not forget this piquant one:

MAN IS OF AIR.

"Science has demonstrated that man, the being who performs all these wonders, is formed of condensed air (or solidified and liquified gases); that he lives on condensed as well as uncondensed air, and clothes himself in condensed air; that he prepares his food by means of condensed air, and, by means of the same agent, moves the heaviest weights with the velocity of the wind. But the strangest part of the matter is, that thousands of these tabernacles formed of condensed air, and going on two legs, occasionally, and on account of the production and supply of those forms of condensed air which they require for food and clothing, or on account of their honour and power, destroy each other in pitched battles by means of condensed air; and further, that many believe the peculiar powers of the bodiless, conscious, thinking, and sensitive being, housed in this tabernacle, to be the result simply of its internal structure, and the arrangement of its particles or atoms; while chemistry supplies the clearest proof, that, as far as concerns this the ultimate and most minute composition and structure, which is beyond the reach of our senses, man is, to all appearance, identical with the ox, or with the animal lowest in the scale of creation."

To return to the alchemists: Liebig has stated with great sagacity, their position in the history of science, and has traced the issues of their labours. He rightly observes, that the notion of the Philosopher's stone, as an universal medicine, led the way to chemical preparations in medicine, and thus began a new era in science. To estimate the immensity of the revolution thus effected, we must remember that the opinions of Galen had reigned as indisputable truths during thirteen centuries—it was heresy, it was madness to doubt them. Galen was the Aristotle of medicine. He prohibited all metallic preparations; in his pharmacopœia none but *organic* substances were admitted; and the least familiar with such matters will see at once the extension given to the pharmacopœia by the introduction of chemical preparations: whether for good or evil, we decide not! Enough that Paracelsus effected a revolution by making chemistry the handmaid to medicine.

THE LADIES' GUILD.

IN considering the vexed but vital questions connected with the position of women in this country, we have always believed that one of the most important stages of a reform would be the removal of the obstacles which prevent them from obtaining to independence through their own industry; and on former occasions we have pointed out how readily the means of employment for them might be multiplied, particularly in the regions of fine and decorative art. But private efforts in this direction have been of little avail. There have been a few female engravers, many painters and sketchers—though very few compared with the numbers to be found in Paris Munich, and Vienna, of the same sex—and still more decorators of various kinds. Yet, there has hitherto been no common movement with a view to attain an end so desirable—no concert among those whose interests may be so materially served by a wise and combined action. At length, however, we are glad to find that an experiment is in progress of being made, by means of a new series of discoveries in decorative art which have been patented and secured for the purpose, to place in the power of some of those women—and their name is Legion—of refined habits and elegant tastes, whom the premature deaths of protectors or other misfortunes leave stranded on the bleak shores of existence, the means of obtaining a livelihood by the exercise of an industry to which no sense of degradation can attach. The facts of the case, as they have come to our knowledge, are briefly these:—Miss Wallace, a lady who has devoted considerable time to experiments in the application of glass to decorative art—some of whose results may be seen at the Crystal Palace—is said to have succeeded in producing, by processes for which she has taken out patents, the most perfect imitation of gold, silver, and other metallic works, enamel, mother-of-pearl, rubies, amethysts, and other gems, in this cheap material. These patents she has munificently bestowed on a society which is to be established, as we understand it, for the study and practice of the new art, and to be called "The Ladies' Guild." So far as we can anticipate the working of such a guild, it seems to us wisely conceived, and full of promise for the class which it is intended to benefit. The productions of female skill and industry will by its means have the rare advantage of making a market for themselves without displacing the products of other classes of workers. The results of the labours of the members will be applied to the ornamentation of desks, portfolios, and furniture generally. For the purpose of bringing the proposed scheme into general and successful operation, the following means are suggested by its originators:—"1. A school of instruction in the art. This is now commencing, in which, for the sum of two shillings per week (to meet the expenses of rent, material, instruction, &c.) persons above the age of twelve are taught. As fast as the pupils produce saleable articles, they will be sold for the benefit of the persons who have succeeded in making them.—The school is at No. 4, Russell Place, Fitzroy Square, where applications for admission to the class may be made. 2. Ladies possessed of fortune, who would like to aid in the establishment of the Ladies' Guild, are invited to do so by advancing sums of money as loans, at the interest of three per cent.—3. Ladies of fixed moderate incomes are invited to form an associated home in connection with the guild—by which means those now resident out of the metropolis can join in the movement, and moreover live at far less cost than any individual can do in a separate position." In such a scheme we see many elements of good for the class at whose protection and independence it aims. There has been no greater defect in the social arrangements than that which leaves gentlewomen in England out of the working category—which has constantly assumed their necessary dependence on what is called the stronger sex, and so left them utterly helpless in the hour—constantly recurring—when the links of dependence are broken. The mistake which subordinate women intellectually—and over which they have triumphed by the outbreak of their own intellectual strength, from the moment when mind could have a hearing amid the silence of the trumpets—if a meaner, was a far less fatal mistake than that which, in these comparatively civilized times, presumes on their inertness, and makes them the merely passive objects of a care which leaves them helpless when fate or caprice withdraws the care itself. Education, defective towards all classes, has been so defective in regard to none as to women in the middle ranks of society.—The means of amelioration in this respect are easy and abundant; and, as an example of what may be done, the Ladies' Guild is worthy of all encouragement.—*Athenæum.*

PLOWDEN, SHAKSPEARE AND THE GRAVE DIGGERS.

IT has been supposed that one of Plowden's cases furnished to Shakspeare part of the scene of the grave diggers in Hamlet. Whether Shakspeare ever studied the reports of Plowden, then still in Norman French, or whether only in the pervading ubiquity and power of his genius, he was uttering in the unreal dialogue of clowns, the actual language of ermined nonsense may not now be easy to decide. His grave diggers, it is certain, have left a satire on the "sober follies of the wise," by arguments so like their own as to have originated the conjecture that Plowden must have been transcribed for the entertainment of the groundlings.

The case which is supposed to have furnished argument for the clowns at the grave of Ophelia is Hales vs. Petit.* Sir James Hales, one of the Justices of Common Pleas, and son of Sir John Hales, eminent as a Baron of the Exchequer, had gone mad, and committed suicide by drowning himself in a river or water-course near his house in Canterbury. The coroner, with his jury, sat upon the body, and presented that "passing through ways and streets in the same city unto the aforesaid river," Sir James had "voluntarily entered the same, and himself therein feloniously and voluntarily drowned." A lease to him and his wife as *joint-tenants*, was seized by the crown as forfeited by the felony of his suicide, and regranted to Petit, who endeavoured to enter; while Lady Hales, claiming as survivor in joint tendancy to her lord, sued Petit for the trespass. It being admitted that if Sir James had committed felony in his life time, the lease was forfeited, the question before the court was, whether Sir James in drowning himself had committed suicide in his life time. For if the felony was not committed until after he was dead, then Lady Hales clearly had the case. A Justice of the King's Court—himself a son of one of the King's Barons of the Exchequer—charged with having committed a felony when alive, was an allegation not common in Westminster Hall; and to have committed the offence after he was dead, was an imputation still more alarming. The *experimentum in corpore vili* was a reproach which no one could throw upon the counsel. It was clearly a great case. Six seargeants-at-law argued it, and their dialectics would have done honour to all the monks that ever assembled round the cell or the shrine of the saint of Canterbury himself.

Lady Hale's counsel contended that to make the felony, both the cause of the death, and the death itself, must unite and be complete. "A man could not be *felo de se* until the death of himself be fully had and consummate." The death must precede the felony, and *a fortiori* the forfeiture, which was its consequence. Here, admitting that the cause of his death—the throwing himself into the water—was done in his life time, and so completed, still, the death was a thing subsequent, and not complete in his life time. When he was dead, he was not alive. The death was not to have relation to the cause of it, as was shown by a position assumed as admitted, that if A give B a mortal stab, of which B died only some time after, A might give away his goods to C after the gift and before the death, and the gift would be good; and by a case cited from 11 Henry IV, where two constables had voluntarily let a man escape that had given a wound to another, who afterwards died of it. Yet it was not felony in the constables, "for the death hath no relation to the cause of it, nor was he that gave the wound a felon before the party dieth." Although "the forfeiture comes at the same instant that he dies, yet in things of an instant there is a priority of time in consideration of law, and the one shall be said to precede the other, although both shall be said to happen at one instant, for every instant contains the end of one time and the commencement of another. And, accordingly, here the death and the forfeiture shall come together, and at one same time, and yet there is a priority, that is, the end of his life makes the commencement of the forfeiture, though, at the same time, the forfeiture is so near to the death, that there is no mean time between them, yet notwithstanding that, in consideration of law the one precedes the other, but by no means has the forfeiture relation to any time in his life.

This "clear and lucid explanation of the whole matter," it was not easy to answer; and four sergeants, *Walsh, Comly, Bendloe* and *Carus*, argued *e contra* for Petit. They contended that the forfeiture was to have relation to the act done in the party's life time, which was the cause of his death, and upon this that the parts of the act were to be considered. "And Walsh said, that the act consists of three parts. The first is the imagination, which is a reflection or meditation of the mind, whether or no it is convenient for him to destroy himself, and what way it can be done. The second is the resolution, which is a determination of the mind to destroy himself, and to do it in this or that particular way. The third is the perfection, which is the execution of what the mind has resolved to do, and this perfection consists of two parts, viz: the beginning and the end. The beginning is the doing of the act which causes the death, and the end is the death, which is only a sequel to the act."

These elementary divisions were amplified and enforced in a style worthy of their conception, and until the matter was fairly twisted into a state fit for the judicial explication.

In giving judgment on their late brother "the Lord Dyer said that *five* things were to be considered in the case, First, the quality of the offence of Sir James Hales; secondly, to whom the offence is committed; thirdly, what shall he forfeit; fourthly, from what time the forfeiture shall commence; and fifthly if the term here shall be taken from the wife."

On the first point, it was clear that Sir James had been acting by the instigation of the devil, and was a murderer; on the second, that as the king, as head, "had lost one of his mystical members," the offence was against *him;* on the third, that his majesty having the right to the goods of felons, on account of the loss he suffered in their death, and "not in respect that holy church will not meddle with them," was entitled to Sir James' goods. But the great point of difficulty, the fourth—that is to say, whether the Right Honourable Justice, who had so lately drowned himself, had done so while he was alive,—seems to have been settled conclusively by Sir Anthony Browne. "He said Sir James Hales was dead; and how came he to his death? It may be answered by drowning. And who drowned him? Sir James Hales. And when did he drown him. In his life time. So that Sir James Hales being alive, caused Sir James Hales to die; and the act of the living man was the death of the dead man. And then for this offence, it is reasonable to punish the living man who committed the offence, and not the dead man. But how can he be said to be punished alive, when the punishment comes after his death? Sir, this can be done no other way but by divesting out of him, from the time of the act done in his life, which was the cause of his death, the title and property of those things which he had in his life time."

William Shakspeare, to whom the case is supposed to have come for final judgment many years after, placed it on grounds not touched by the sergeants or the court. His argument is, that as the water was *running water*, and came down stream, the unfortunate *felo de se* did not drown himself at all: the water drowned him:—

1*st Clown*—It must be se offendendo; it cannot be else: for here lies the point: if I drown myself wittingly, it argues an act, and an act hath three branches; it is, to act, to do and to perform: argal, she drowned herself wittingly.

2*d Clown*—Nay, but hear you, goodman delver

1*st Clown*—Give me leave. Here lies the water; good: here stands the man; good: if the man go to the water and drown himself, it is will he, nil he, he goes, mark you that; but if the water come to him and drown him, he drowns not himself: argal, he that is not guilty of his own death, shortens not his own life.

2*d Clown*—But is this law?

1*st Clown*—Ay, marry is't; crowner's 'quest law.
—*Legal Intelligencer.*

* Plowden 258.

DUTCH FOLK-LORE.

[From Notes and Queries.]

1. A baby laughing in its dreams is conversing with the angels.

2 Rocking the cradle when the baby is not in it, is considered injurious to the infant, and a prognostic of its speedy death.

3. A strange dog following you is a sign of good luck.

4. A stork settling on a house is a harbinger of happiness. To kill such a bird would be sacrilege.

5. If you see a shooting star, the wish you form before its disappearance will be fulfilled.

6. A person born with a caul is considered fortunate.

7. Four-leaved clover brings luck to the person who finds it unawares.

8. An over-turned salt-cellar is a ship wrecked. If a person take salt and spill it on the table, it betokens a strife between him and the person next to whom it fell. To avert the omen, he must lift up the shed grains with a knife, and throw them behind his back.

9. After eating eggs in Holland, you must break the shells, or the witches would sail over in them to England. The English don't know under what obligations they are to the Dutch for this custom. Please to tell them.

10. If you make a present of a knife or scissors, the person receiving must pay something for it; otherwise the friendship between you would be cut off.

11. A tingling ear denotes there is somebody speaking of you behind your back. If you hear the noise in the right one, he praises you; if on the left side, he is calling you a scoundrel, or something like that. But never mind! for if in the latter case you bite your little finger, the evil speaker's tongue will be in the same predicament. By all means don't spare your little finger!

12. If at dinner a person yet unmarried be placed inadvertently between a married couple, be sure he or she will get a partner within a year. It's a pity it must be inadvertently.

13. If a person when rising throw down his chair, he is considered guilty of untruth.

14. A potatoe begged or stolen is a preservative against rheumatism. Chesnuts have the same efficacy.

15. The Nymphæa, or water-lily, whose broad leaves and clear white or yellow cups float upon the water, was esteemed by the old Frisians to have a magical power. "I remember when a boy," says Dr. Halbertsma, "that we were extremely careful in plucking and handling them; for if any one fell with such a flower in his possession, he became immediately subject to fits."

16. One of my friends cut himself. A man servant being present, secured the knife hastily, anointed it with oil, and putting it into the drawer, besought the patient not to touch it for some days. Whether the cure was effected by this sympathetic means, I can't affirm; but cured it was; so don't be alarmed.

17. If you feel on a sudden a shivering sensation in your back, there is somebody walking over your future grave.

18. A person speaking by himself will die a violent death.

19. Don't go under a ladder, for if you do you will be hanged. *a?

Amsterdam.

TRAVELLING IN PERSIA—MADAME IDA PFEIFFER, THE LADY TRAVELLER.

THE most remarkable and dangerous portion of Madame Pfeiffer's travels was yet to come. From Bagdad her supposed route was to Ispahan. But a Persian Prince, Il-Hany-Ala-Culy-Mirza—a handsome young man with whom she became acquainted during her rambles on the shores of the Tigris, who had for a wife the loveliest creature she had yet seen in any harem, and who possessed nargilehs so magnificently jewelled that she could not refuse to smoke out of them—sent to his German friend, on the eve of her departure, intelligence that modified her plans. He had received bad news from his country: the governor of Ispahan had been murdered, and the whole province was in a state of insurrection. Under these circumstances it was impossible to enter Persia from Bagdad, and she therefore resolved to go north to Mossul, and thence shape her course according to events. To get to Mossul safely and without heavy expense, it was necessary to join a caravan; and she requested Syroboda, a Hungarian at Bagdad, to look out for a trusty caravan-leader. She was strongly advised not to risk herself alone amongst the Arabs, but to take at least one servant with her; but the state of her purse would not permit this, and, moreover, she had begun to understand the Arab character, and she felt confidence in them. The rate of travelling was certainly cheap enough. The distance is three hundred English miles; the time required, twelve or fourteen days, on horse or mulehack, and marching by night in the hot season. She paid fifteen shillings for a mule to carry herself and baggage, and the animal's forage was supplied to her. "At five in the afternoon," says this intrepid lady, "I set out upon a fortnight's journey over deserts and steppes, a journey full of hardships and dangers, without the slightest convenience, shelter, or safeguard. I travelled like the poorest Arab, and must, like him, make up my mind to endure the burning sun, to live upon bread and water, with the addition, at most, of a handful of dates or a cucumber, and to take the parched and glowing earth for my only couch. .. .. .. My little trunk, and a basket with bread and other trifles, were put in two sacks and thrown across the mule's back; my cloak and cushion made soft and convenient seat; mounting was the worst part of the business, as there was no stirrup. Our caravan was small: six-and-twenty males and horses, most of them laden with merchandise, and twelve Arabs, of whom five were on foot. At a few miles from the town, several other travellers joined us mostly traders with laden beasts. Our numbers varied every evening, as there were constantly some persons leaving and others joining us. Often we had shocking rabble amongst us, people whom I feared more than any robbers. It not unfrequently happens that thieves join these caravans, in hopes of finding opportunities to exercise their calling." The first night they rode ten hours, halting at a dirty sort of chan, in the middle of a small village. Madame Pfeiffer went out foraging: milk and three eggs, and her leathren bottle full of water from the Tigris, were the result of her perquisitions in the neighbouring huts. Poor as the provend was, after a hard night's ride, and uncomfortable as was the accommodation, she would gladly have had as good the day after, when she found herself bivouacking in the merciless sun-rays, in an open field, with a cloth thrown over two sticks, for sole and most imperfect shelter. Various were her vicissitudes, both of diet and lodging, during this uncomfortable journey. At one village—the native place of their guide—the caravan halted two days. "The first day I had much to endure; all the women of the neighbourhood came to stare at the stranger. They began by examining my clothes, then they wanted to remove my turban, and at last became so intrusive and annoying, that I could only get rid of them by energetic demonstration. Suddenly seizing one of them by the arm, I turned her out of the hut. This I did so quickly that she was outside the door before she knew it, and I made signs to the others that I should serve them in the same way. Probably they took me to be much stronger than what I was, for they all retired. Then I drew a line upon the ground, and forbade them to cross it, and in this also I was obeyed." Towards evening, to her great delight, she saw a kettle with mutton in it set upon the fire. Bread, dates, and cucumbers, had been her only food for eight days, and she rejoiced at the prospect of a hot and nourishing meal. The mode of preparation considerably damped her appetite. The guide's mother soaked a quantity of onions and some small rod grain in water; then, with her dirty hands, mixed and crushed them together, put some of the grain in her mouth, chewed it, and returned it to the mess, strained the whole through a dirty rag, and poured this precious sauce over the simmering sheep. Madame Pfeiffer inwardly vowed to have nothing to say to so abominable a brew. But when the stew was taken off the fire, the odour emitted was so fragrant to her hungry nostrils that she relented, and began to think of how many messes she had partaken that were not an iota better than this one. The difference consisted in her presence at the cookery. She shut her eyes and put it in her spoon, felt greatly comforted by the repast, and looked anxiously for such another upon the following evening. But Arabs are not so extravagant. Bread and gherkins, without salt, oil, or vinegar, composed the next day's meagre meal. After which the caravan proceeded on its way, and, crossing the renowned plain of Arbela, reached Mossul without other incident worthy of note. It was the beginning of July. The heat was so terrible, that in Mossul several parties died of it during her stay; and it even affected domestic fowls, as they testified by their gaping beaks and expanded wings. During the whole journey she had never taken off her clothes or changed her linen, had eaten meat but twice, and passed half her time on the road. Nevertheless, she reached Mossul fresh and in good spirits.—*Blackwood's Magazine.*

THE STANDARD OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINES.

A CHARGE of slightness has been brought against the agricultural implements exhibited at the Crystal Palace by the United States; they are not slight, says an American, in a letter to the *Times*, but light. Heavy English implements would be as little suited to the galloping style of agriculture across the Atlantic as their expense would to the pockets of emigrants or working settlers. Farmers in this country feel the burden of expenditure for implements of a certain traditional weight and dignity, as much as the agricultural labourer must groan under the financial burden entailed by the traditional dignity of his smock frock with those elaborate stitchings which custom so carefully preserves.

So writes the American; and the retort is not unmerited. We have seen at the Exhibition specimens of the British labourer in full canonicals, a familiar object, but seen under a new aspect. Of all the agricultural implements this one struck us as the least improved. In the international display of costume this staple of the British nation, "its country's pride," did not stand forth in very picturesque aspect. If low diet has left any substance in the man his dress is the best disguise of it. It is, you see, not unlike a woman's bed-dress, with differences not in its favour. The stitching, especially, which he preserves with so much traditional affection, much detracts from the dignity naturally inherent in the simple drapery of a night gown. On the breast and between the shoulders, no small portion of the stuff is drawn into "gathers" firmly stitched and restitched, and forming in either case a sort of plate a few inches square. The effect is peculiar. Behind, few things could so well aid the slouching shoulders in destroying every appearance of breadth. In front, the little stomacher, flat amid the unshapely fullness around it gives to the chest the appearance of being stove in. On his feet this agricultural implement wears boots which constrict the ankle and destroy the play of the foot; humanly speaking, the man cannot walk, he can only hobble. But by long practice and a perfect resignation he does contrive to get along in a measured hobble, which suggests a certain dignity of patience. He cannot walk, he cannot talk; his mind hobbles as slowly as his legs. The pains are bestowed in stitching his smock; his legs are defended from the possibility of being active; his mind—that has been left merely fallow—No system of rotation crops has been extended to that. The man is the living exemplar of agriculture in its boasted prime! The tool and product of agriculture under protection—of agriculture as Protectionists would maintain it. It has occurred to agriculturists, even in England, that perhaps their trade would not be injured if they were to improve this implement among the rest. Talk of backwardness or slightness, no implement in the whole Exhibition is so ill contrived as this, so rude, at once so slight and so heavy, so ill adapted for working in any kind of soil. There can be no question that farmers would derive material benefit from an improvement of this machine. Besides, if we may trust a country tradition to that effect, this that we have been considering as a machine is by nature allied to the human species, and ought to have a soul, which might be worthy of cultivating on its own account. But our cautious readers will warn us that here we are trenching on the dangerous ground of theology. We say no more. We make no positive assertions—no peremptory suggestions; we will not presume the question of soul; we will not insist that anybody ought to interfere. If we have made a motion without being aware of it, we hasten to withdraw it as they do in Parliament.—*Spectator.*

CHATTERTON.

ALL thinking persons have now agreed to abandon that summary method of dealing with human character, according to which unusual and eccentric courses of action are attributed to mere caprices on the part of the individuals concerned — mere obstinate determinations to go out of the common route.

The dog, to gain some private ends,
Went mad, and bit the man,

is a maxim less in repute than it once was. In such cases as that of Chatterton, it is now believed, deeper causes are always operating than the mere wish to deceive people and make a figure.

Now, in the case of Chatterton, it appears to us we must first of all take for granted an extraordinary natural precocity or prematurity of the faculties. We are aware that there is a prejudice against the use of this hypothesis? But why should it be so? How otherwise can we represent ourselves the cause of that diversity which we see in men, than by going deeper than all that we know of pedigree, and conceiving the birth of every new soul to be, as it were, a distinct creative act of the new spirit?—That new, in some Warwickshire village, the birth should be a Shakspere; and that again, in the poor posthumous child of a dissipated Bristol choir-singer, the tiny body should be shaken by the surcharge of soul within it, are not miracles in themselves, but only variations in the great standing miracle of birth at all. Nor with the idea of precocity is it necessary to associate that either of disease or of insanity. There was nothing in Chatterton to argue disease in the ordinary sense, or to indicate that, had he lived, he might not, like Pope or Tasso, who were also precocious, have gone on steadily increasing in ability until the attainment of a sound old age. And, though it seems probable that there was a tendency to madness in the Chatterton blood, Chatterton's sister, Mrs. Newton, having afterwards had an attack of insanity, we think that the use of this fact by Southey and others to explain the tenor of Chatterton's life has been by far too hasty and inconsiderate.—We never yet knew a man of genius who had not some female relative that died, or was said to have died, in a lunatic asylum; and, so long as we can account for Chatterton's singularities in any other way, we see no reason, any more than in the similar instance of Charles Lamb, why we should attribute them to what was at the utmost only a probably dormant, or possibly about to be developed, taint of madness in his constitution.

Assuming, then, that Chatterton, without being either a mere *lusus naturæ*, or insane, was simply a child of very extraordinary endowments, we would point out, as the predominant feature in his character, his remarkable veneration for the antique. In the boyhood even of Sir Walter Scott, born as he was in the very midst of ballads and traditions, we see no manifestation of a love of the past and the historic nearly so strong as that which possessed Chatterton from his infancy. The earliest form in which this constitutional peculiarity appeared in him, seems to have been a fondness for the ecclesiastical antiquities of his native city, and, above all, an attachment to the old Gothic church of St. Mary Redcliffe.

:: :: :: :: ::

Chatterton, however, was not merely an inquisitive lad; he was a young poet, full of enthusiasm and constructive talent. Hence, not satisfied with a meagre outline of the story of Canynge, as it could be derived from the chronicles of Bristol, he set himself to fill up the outline by conjectures and synoronisms, so as to clear out for himself, so to speak, "Canynge's Life and Times," as a luminous little spot in the general darkness of the English past. And here comes in the story of the old parchments.

Over the north porch of St. Mary's Redcliffe was a room known as "the muniment room." Here, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there lay six or seven locked chests, which were understood to contain old deeds and other writings. One of the chests was traditionally known as "Mr. Canynge's coffer." The keys of this chest had been long lost, and when, in the year 1727, it was deemed expedient to secure some title-deeds that were believed to be contained in it, a locksmith was employed to break it open. Such documents as were thought of importance were then removed, and the rest were left in the open chest as of no value. The other chests were similarly treated. Accordingly, parcels of the remaining contents were subsequently, from time to time, carried off by various parties; and, in particular, it was remembered that, when John Chatterton was sexton, his brother, the choir-singer and teacher of Pyle-street school, had carried off a quantity of them to be used as book-covers and for other such-like purposes. A bundle of these parchments remained in the possession of Mrs. Chatterton after her husband's death, and such of them as had not been previously snipped into thread papers came into Chatterton's hands.

What these old documents really contained we have no means of knowing. That some of them may have been papers of historical value is not improbable. It is certain, at least, that they interested Chatterton, that the possession of them nourished his sense of the antique, and that he learned to decipher parts of them, catching out old bits of Latin phraseology, and such like, which he mis-wrote in copying. We may even go farther, and surmise that, out of those papers, he may have derived hints that were of use to him in his attempt to represent the circumstances of Canynge's life. They may have helped him, for example, to appropriate names for some of those fictitious or semi-fictitious personages whom he thought proper to group around Canynge in that tableau or historical romance of "Bristol in the Fifteenth Century," with the construction of which he regaled himself.—*Dublin University Magazine.*

AN AMERICAN ABOMINATION

ONE trait more, though with the risk of disgusting some and offending more—though I will hope not.* An Englishman, I believe, rarely chews, and, compared with the American, rarely smokes; but whether he does not secretly practice both these abominations, I am not prepared to say. But with both these provocatives, if it be so, one thing he never does, is, to spit. That fact draws a line of demarcation between the Englishman and the American, broader and deeper a thousand-fold than any other, in politics, government, laws, language, religion. *The Englishman never spits.* Or if he does, he first goes home, shuts himself up in his room, locks his door, argues the necessity of the case; if necessary, performs the disagreeable duty, and returns to society with a clear conscience.† The American spits always and every where; sometimes when it is necessary; always when it is not. It is his occupation, his pastime, his business. Many do nothing else all their lives; and always indulge in this singular recreation when they *have* nothing else to do. Sometimes, in a state of momentary forgetfulness, he intermits, but then, as if he had neglected a sworn duty, returns to it again with conscience-smitten vigour. He spits at home and abroad, by night and by day, awake and asleep, in company and in solitude, for his own amusement and the edification of a spitting community. On the freshly painted or scoured floor, on the clean deck of a ship or steamboat, on a parlour floor, covered whether with ingrained, Brussels, Wilton, or Turkey, even there he voids his rheum; upon the unabsorbent canvas, so that one may see, where numbers congregate, the railroad cars to run in more ways than one. The pulpits and pews of churches are not safe. The foot pavement of the streets, the floors of hotels, of Congress halls, are foul with it; and in railroads cars it must always be necessary for a lady to shorten her garments, as if about to walk in the deep mud of the street, or the snow and water of spring, if she would escape defilement to either her dress or her slippers. As the power of direction of the human missiles is by no means unerring, notwithstanding so much practice, one's own person and all parts of his person are exposed to the random shots of this universal foe of American civilized life; and often he finds on different parts of his dress proofs abundant of the company he has kept. The only single spot absolutely secure is a man's face; and that would not be, were it not for the fear of a duel.

That there is not the shadow of exaggeration in this description, coarse as it is, and coarse as it has been my intention to make it, all Americans, and all travellers who have been within an American hotel, steamboat, or rail-car—all will testify. And the result of it all is, I suppose, that we are the freest and most enlightened people on the face of the earth! But for one, republican as I am in principle, I think, on the whole, I would prefer the despotism of Austria, Russia, or Rome, to the freedom, if I must take with it the spit, of America. It is vice enough to tempt one to forswear home, country, kindred friends, religion. It is ample cause for breaking acquaintance, friendship, for a divorce. In a word, it is our grand national distinction, if we did but know it. There are certainly parts of the country comparatively, but only comparatively, free from this vice. Here at the North there is much less than at the West and South, though here enough of it to disgust one with his race. In proportion as general refinement prevails, the custom abates. At the South, no carpets, no rooms, no presence affords protection.‡ Here, in the best rooms, the best society, there is partial exemption, though not often enough, from the presence of that ingenious, fearful patent, the brazen, china, or earthen *box*.

Would that my country could be induced to pause in this its wonderful career! Pity some public effort could not be made by way of general convention, or otherwise, for the abatement of this national mischief—certainly as worthy of attention as very many of our political and moral reforms. The advice of the London surgeon, Abernethy, to an American sea-captain, was at any rate useful to us all, and pregnant with good medical philosophy. "Keep your saliva in your mouth to help digest your food with," said he, "and not spit it all over my carpet." *Ware's Sketches of European Capitals.*

* I am perfectly willing to be ostracised on the score of taste for introducing the topic, if, by calling attention to it, it may be the means of redeeming a few even from a habit which makes our whole country a by-word and an offence all over the civilized word. I am sorry to say that in regard to this practice hardly a gentleman in his manners is any where to be found. One meets persons constantly at public places, in public conveyances, with the dress and outward aspect of well-bred men, many whom you *know* to come under the category of what is called the best society, with whose personal habits, as you are unfortunately obliged to sit beside them in some rail-car, you can be filled only with an unconquerable disgust.

† Every American is born perhaps to the habit; though my earliest recollections are of its having been ever sternly interdicted. Still, universal bad example had its unavoidable bad effect to a certain extent. In England I happened one day to be in a country post-office in company with another person. I felt a disagreeable necessity upon me. I knew I was in England, and could not, for such a purpose as I had in view, escape from the country. I did what I could; but, I am willing to confess, fell short of my duty. I had passed through two rooms and a hall to reach the letter-box. I suddenly retreated through the two rooms, leaving my companion, as I supposed, with the postmaster. I reached a large mat at the outside door. I ought to have sought the street. It was a great error. But before I could commence my return, my companion—my good genius—was at my ear, and hoarsely whispered—"You must never do that beneath an English roof." An illustration at once of the two most distinctive traits of the Englishman—cleanliness and manliness.

‡ Let six such Americans meet round a stove, in a bar-room, or parlour, or hotel drawing room, of a morning—of the six, four will spit before speaking a word; one will bid good morning first, and spit afterwards; the sixth will make a remark somewhat at length upon the weather, and, by way of compensation for extraordinary retention, spit twice or thrice.

——THE *Month* of London perpetrates this verse respecting Yankee Doodle and the Exhibition:—

"Yankee Doodle's come to town,
And begun to blubber,
When his counters only showed
Lamps and India-rubber.

Yankee Doodle look'd around,
Sharp as any beagle,
And the organ soon he found
Blew away his eagle."